

A N
A C C O U N T
OF THE
COLONY
OF
SIERRA LEONE,
FROM ITS
FIRST ESTABLISHMENT IN
BEING THE
SUBSTANCE OF A REPORT
DELIVERED TO THE
PROPRIETORS

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE DIRECTORS.

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1795

† *At a General Court of the Sierra Leone Company,
held at the Paul's Head Tavern, in Cateaton
Street, London, on Thursday the 27th day of
March, 1794,*

P R E S E N T

*Henry Thornton, Esq. in the Chair,
Several Members of the Court of Directors,
And between One and Two Hundred of the
Proprietors,*

*The Minutes of the last General Court of the 30th
day of May, 1793, were read and confirmed.*

*A Report from the Court of Directors was then read,
of which the following is the substance.*

SUBSTANCE

OF THE

REPORT, &c.



ABOUT two years having elapsed since the present colony at Sierra Leone was set on foot, the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company think it proper to give in this report a brief history of its progress to the present time: they will then lay before the Court an account of the Expenses which have been incurred, and of the general finances of the Company; and they will afterward enter into a more particular description of the Present Situation of the settlement, arranging their information under the four following heads; Health, Trade, Cultivation, and Civilization.

IN order to introduce the short History that is proposed, it may be proper to state

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some circumstances antecedent even to the formation of the present colony.

In the year 1787, a number of gentlemen subscribed a few thousand pounds, as a fund for assisting some hundreds of destitute blacks, then in London, to settle at Sierra Leone, where a considerable district of land had been ceded by the native chiefs for that purpose: government very liberally seconded these views, by taking upon itself the expense of transporting the blacks thither, and of supplying them with necessaries during the first six or eight months of their residence in Africa. It might naturally be expected that persons of this description, crowded together on shipboard, would be very unhealthy, and the event did but too well justify the supposition. The number of them that left England was 460, of whom 84 died during their detention in the channel, or on the passage; and near a hundred more fell victims either to their own intemperance, or to the hardships they were exposed to during the first rainy season. The remainder of this body of men, after having built themselves a town, and improved gradually in their circumstances, were dispersed in the year 1790, on account of their being involved (though not through their own fault) in the consequences of a dispute between the natives and the crew of a British vessel, who had set fire to the town of a neighbouring chief. They were
again

again united in the year 1791, through the interference of the Sierra Leone Company's Agent, and fixed themselves in Granville Town, which is about two or three miles distant from Free Town, the Company's present chief settlement.

When the Act of Parliament had passed for incorporating the Sierra Leone Company, and a considerable capital appeared likely to be raised for carrying on the undertaking, the Directors had an opportunity of rendering, as they conceived, a very important service to the colony, by the acquisition of an additional number of free black colonists, acquainted with the English language, and accustomed to labour in hot climates. A delegate from a body of blacks in Nova Scotia, supposed to amount to a few hundreds, who was then in England, represented that the persons who sent him thither had migrated to Nova Scotia at the end of the American war, having received from government certain promises of lots of land, which had never been strictly fulfilled; that both the soil and the climate of Nova Scotia, as well as many other circumstances in their situation, were complained of by them, and that many of them were desirous of becoming colonists at the settlement which they understood was likely to be made at Sierra Leone.

The Directors concurred with the Delegate in applying to his Majesty's Ministers for a passage for them at the expense of government

ment, and having obtained a favourable answer to their application, they immediately availed themselves of the services of Lieut. Clarkson, who very handsomely offered to go to Nova Scotia, in order to make the necessary proposals, and to superintend the collecting and bringing over of such free blacks to Sierra Leone, as might be willing to migrate. All the particulars of the terms, on which the Company engaged to receive them into the colony, were contained in a printed declaration, of which the following is a copy :

“ The Sierra Leone Company, willing to
 “ receive into their colony such free blacks
 “ as are able to produce to their agents
 “ Lieut. Clarkson, of his Majesty’s Navy,
 “ and Mr. Lawrence Hartshorn, of Halifax,
 “ or either of them, satisfactory testimonials
 “ of their character, (more particularly as to
 “ honesty, sobriety, and industry) think it
 “ proper to notify, in an explicit manner,
 “ upon what terms they will receive at Sierra
 “ Leone, those who bring with them written
 “ certificates of approbation, from either of
 “ the said agents, which certificate they are
 “ hereby respectively authorised to grant or
 “ withhold at discretion.

“ It is therefore declared by the Company,
 “ that every free black, upon producing such
 “ a certificate, shall have a grant of not less
 “ than twenty acres of land for himself, ten
 “ for his wife, and five for every child, upon
 “ such terms, and subject to such charges
 “ and .

“ and obligations, with a view to the general
 “ prosperity of the Company, as shall here-
 “ after be settled by the Company, in respect
 “ to grants of land to be made by them to
 “ all settlers, whether black or white.

“ That for all stores and provisions, &c.
 “ supplied from the Company’s warehouses,
 “ the Company shall receive an equitable
 “ compensation, according to fixed rules,
 “ extending to blacks and whites indiscrimi-
 “ nately.

“ That the civil, military, personal, and
 “ commercial rights and duties of blacks and
 “ whites shall be the same, and secured in
 “ the same manner.

“ And for the full assurance of personal
 “ protection from slavery to all such black
 “ settlers, the Company have subjoined a
 “ clause contained in the Act of Parliament,
 “ whereby they are incorporated, &c.

“ *Provided also, and be it further enacted,*
 “ *that it shall not be lawful for the said*
 “ *Company, either directly or indirectly,*
 “ *by itself or themselves, or by the agents*
 “ *or servants of the said Company, or*
 “ *otherwise howsoever, to deal or traffick*
 “ *in the buying or selling of slaves, or in*
 “ *any manner whatever to have, hold,*
 “ *appropriate or employ any person or*
 “ *persons in a state of slavery, in the*
 “ *service of the said Company.”*

“ Given under our hands, London, the 2d
 “ day of August, 1791.

“ *Henry Thornton,*
Chairman.

Philip Sansom,
D. Chairman

“ *Charles Middleton*

“ *William Wilberforce*

“ *Granville Sharp*

“ *John Kingston*

“ *Samuel Parker*

“ *Joseph Hardcastle*

“ *Thomas Clarkson*

“ *Vickeris Taylor*

“ *William Sanford*

“ *Thomas Eldred*

“ *George Wolff.*

“ N. B. For the convenience of those who
 “ are possessed of property which they can-
 “ not dispose of before their departure, the
 “ Company will authorise an agent, who,
 “ on receiving from any proprietor a sufficient
 “ power for that purpose, shall sell the same
 “ for his benefit, and remit the purchase-
 “ money, through the hands of the Com-
 “ pany, to such proprietor at Sierra Leone.”

The number of Nova Scotians who were willing to embark for Sierra Leone, proved, to the great surprise of the Directors, to be no less than 1196. The accession of so large a body of people could not fail to produce many important consequences, and to give, in some measure, a new character to the whole undertaking.

The Directors turned their attention in the first place, to the supply of the immediate wants of these numerous colonists; and they, at the same time, brought forward a plan for the enlargement of the Company's capital, which was raised to the sum of £.235,280:

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a considerable portion of it having been subscribed after the intelligence from Nova Scotia was received.

The first vessel sent out by the Company from England, reached Sierra Leone in February 1792, and she was soon followed by two other vessels from hence, one of them carrying a considerable number of passengers. There went out in all, by these ships, rather more than 100 white persons; of whom about 40 were Company's servants, or artificers, at a yearly salary; 10 were settlers; 16 were soldiers; and between 30 and 40 were women and children.

In the succeeding month the Nova Scotia fleet arrived, consisting of 16 vessels, from which there were landed 1131 blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever first contracted in Halifax, of which 65 had died during the passage. Mr. Clarkson, whose humanity had led him to embark on board the hospital ship, had also narrowly escaped with his life, from a violent attack of the same disorder; he was extremely weak and ill when he landed at Sierra Leone, and he recovered very slowly.

After two or three weeks delay, arising from a palaver (or council) of the natives, which however ended favourably for the Company, the site on which the first body of blacks sent from hence had originally settled,

settled, was pitched upon as the most proper spot for the intended settlement. The land on which the town was to stand was cleared in a few weeks more, by the united labour of the Nova Scotians; and the several streets having been first marked out by the surveyor, they then began to erect each for himself a small temporary hut, using the common materials of the country, except that the flooring was furnished in some cases by deals from hence. The colonists proceeded with the utmost eagerness in this work, for they feared lest they should be overtaken by the rains, which might be expected to commence in less than two months from the time of their beginning to build. The town was named FREETOWN, in consequence of an instruction sent out to this purpose.

The Directors, aware of the danger to which it was possible that many of the settlers might be exposed through the want of sufficient shelter, during the first rainy season, thought it a point of duty to purchase and send out the York, a ship of 850 tons, fitted up with a view to their accommodation, which they loaded with various stores, as well as frames of houses and materials for building. They considered that, besides carrying out a large cargo, she might serve as a receptacle for those whose houses were unfinished, or as an hospital for the sick, and might afterwards be converted into a storehouse for the Company. She arrived indeed too late to be
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of any advantage to the colony during the chief part of the sickly season, having been driven back by a storm after leaving England : she proved however of very considerable use afterwards, both as a storehouse and floating factory, as well as in facilitating the loading and unloading of other vessels ; and she was also, for some time, the place of residence for many servants of the Company.

The precautions taken by the Directors, and the early as well as liberal supply of necessaries sent out by them, unhappily were not effectual in preventing a considerable mortality during the first rainy season. The rains began about the third week in May ; many settlers houses were not completed, the Company's storehouse was but imperfectly built, and their servants, especially those of the lower order, were very badly accommodated : the soldiers also were liable, from various causes, to be much exposed, and the few settlers who went from England, were least of all prepared to meet the impending difficulties of a rainy season. Perhaps the high degree of health which almost universally prevailed at the period antecedent to the rains, by creating too much confidence in the goodness of the climate, especially among the Europeans, might occasion some slackness in making the necessary preparations.

It is obvious from this general view of the slow progress of the colony, that no attempt could as yet have been made to survey and
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mark out the promised lots of land; the building of a temporary town having hitherto engrossed nearly the whole attention both of Nova Scotians and of the Company's servants: nor had any steps, worthy of being mentioned, been as yet taken with a view to commerce; though, through the mistaken advice of the Company's commercial agent, some goods for trade had been sent out by the very first ships.

The Directors think they ought not to conceal from the proprietors, that a considerable degree of misunderstanding had prevailed, antecedent to this period, between the Governor and the Council; and that to their inefficiency, during the first three or four most important months, a part at least of the subsequent calamity is evidently to be traced.

Eight of the principal servants had been nominated to be members of the council, and all the inferior officers had been enjoined to pay the same obedience to their orders which they owed to the Court of Directors themselves. The office of Governor having become vacant at the time when the first ship failed, Mr. Clarkson, who had given great satisfaction by his conduct in Nova Scotia, was requested to fill the situation till a successor should be appointed, and he had the casting vote in council.

The Directors, alarmed by the evident want of order and energy betrayed even by the first accounts, adopted the temporary expedient

dient of throwing the whole responsibility on Mr. Clarkson, giving him permission at the same time to assume the whole power. Whether the Directors erred in dividing the authority among so many as eight persons, or whether the blame belonged more properly to the Governor and Council, it is not perhaps material now to canvas. The Directors acquit the body of acting counsellors of all wilful misconduct; with the exception indeed of one person detained in their employ, but not originally appointed by them, whose knowledge of the natives and of the country made him appear a person of importance at the outset of the undertaking, but whose habits of intoxication, idleness, and irregularity, as well as want of accuracy in his information, it is necessary to mention as one chief cause of the first difficulties of the Colony, and of the first commercial disappointments of the Company. It is partly to be ascribed to the extraordinary neglect of this person (whom it was the duty of the Governor and Council to direct and control) that the colony was not supplied with any fresh provisions before the sickly season arrived. The Company's ships were not employed for this purpose, as was directed to be done; and the original body of instructions to the Governor and Council, drawn up by the Court of Directors and read to the proprietors, received little or no consideration till long after this period. Confusion in the accounts, in the stores, in the government, in the information

mation sent home, and in the operations of every kind prevailed; and this confusion not only tended to aggravate in many ways the distress of the sickly season, but it ought, perhaps, to be stated as one principal occasion of the extraordinary mortality.

The Directors by no means make these observations with any personal views, but they think it their duty, when they are stating the material events that have happened, to declare also their own impartial opinion of the causes which have led to them. And as all the distresses and difficulties of the colony were during the first rainy season at their height, they think it proper to be very particular in their description both of the antecedent state of things, and of this calamitous period itself. The difference, and indeed the contrast, that has been experienced between the first and second rainy seasons, enables them to do this without fear either of greatly dispiriting the proprietors, or discrediting the undertaking.

The sickness was the most severe and alarming at the beginning of the rains: about 800 blacks were supposed to be laid up at one time, and very few passed through the whole of this trying season without some indisposition. The disorder, which was the fever common to hot climates, while it affected in different degrees the blacks and whites almost indiscriminately, proved much the most fatal to the Europeans, and especially to those
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living on shore ; among whom the mortality was, at one time, such as to excite reasonable apprehensions concerning the practicability of the whole undertaking, in the minds of any persons not well acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the case.

In the height of the sickness, all the medical persons, with but one exception, were laid up, so that a few of the chief servants only could be properly attended. The storekeepers, living in a damp storehouse, were some of the first victims ; increasing difficulty and confusion in the delivery of the stores was the consequence : a retail shop had not yet been set up, nor had a money-medium been established ; the doors of the storehouse were continually crowded, but neither food nor physic, nor the other necessaries for the sick, though supplied by the Directors in sufficient quantities, were properly distributed. The settlers huts, which were very small, were also many of them damp, and a few were as yet unfinished : a great depression of spirits at the same time generally prevailed, which produced a total helplessness in the case of one or two families from England, and this was one chief aggravation of the disorder.

The Directors will not here anticipate all the more particular information which they will have to give on the head of the colony's health, since it will be found in its place in a subsequent part of this report : they will at present only mention that almost
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one half of the whites living on shore were carried off during this dreadful season, and nearly one tenth of the Noya Scotians.

The colony was just emerging from that state of distress into which it had been thrown, when a new event of a perplexing kind called for the attention of the government. A ship arrived from the Isle of * Bulam, having on board a great number of passengers, many of them extremely sick, who desired to be received into the colony. The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company had previously declined accepting proposals to go out as colonists, made to them in England by many of the same persons who went to Bulam ; for they had conceived the first success of their colony essentially to depend on the exclusion of all Europeans ; those alone excepted who, being in the regular pay of the Company were entirely subject to them. They were afraid that even a few men from hence of an improper cast, in the situation of independent settlers, might materially prejudice or endanger the undertaking ; that they might corrupt the morals of the colony, refuse due obedience to government, as well as excite a spirit of general discontent ; and if for any of these causes they should be ex-

* The Isle of Bulam, on which the Bulam Association proposed to make a settlement, is situated near the mouth of the Rio Grande, about two and a half degrees, or about 175 miles north of Sierra Leone. The Bollam, or Bulam Shore, hereafter spoken of, is the shore immediately opposite Sierra Leone. —See Map.

cluded from the settlement, that they might then only be driven, especially if they had left debts in England, to seek a precarious livelihood, by various improper means, among the neighbouring natives, and perhaps eventually to turn to Slave Traders.

The Directors had been determined by these considerations to forbid for the present, with a very few exceptions, the admission of Europeans into the colony; they had also deemed it necessary to inquire very strictly, both into the characters and circumstances of those who went out in their service; and they had made it a rule to let no man go to Sierra Leone, who left debts in England undischarged; a rule of great use and importance, the principle of which must be given up if the Bulam adventurers, who were a body of men unknown to the Sierra Leone Company, should be received there. The Directors had taken the precaution of informing the Governor and Council very fully of their sentiments, on the whole of this important subject; and they had directed that every friendly assistance should be rendered to the Bulam colony; but in case it should happen that they should leave Bulam and come to Sierra Leone, that they were not to be allowed permanently to settle there. The Sierra Leone government, in conformity with these instructions, declined receiving the passengers from Bulam as residents into the colony; but after supplying the sick with a few necessaries, who were accommodated for
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a short time on shore, they furnished them with a vessel to assist in bringing them back to England, as their own ship, the *Calypso*, was exceedingly crowded.

The Directors have thought it proper to state thus fully and explicitly, both the orders sent out and the motives which operated with them on the occasion that has been just spoken of: they were by no means actuated by narrow views of monopoly and jealousy of other traders; nor shall they ever suffer themselves, as they trust, to be governed by any such principles; and they are persuaded also, that they shall only second the views of the proprietors, by giving encouragement and assistance to any prudent and well regulated schemes of settlement on the coast of Africa, so far as it can be done without too much expense to themselves, and without committing to any fresh hazard the interests of their own colony.

The chief object that engaged the attention of the government of Sierra Leone after the sickness abated, was the distribution of the lots of land; a work much more arduous than had been expected. It was found impracticable indeed to give at once to each individual his lot of twenty acres; those lands of the Company which are either contiguous to the water side, or within a reasonable distance from Freetown, not being sufficient for the purpose. Even the labour of cutting the necessary paths, and of measuring so great a tract

tract of country, would have been too great to be easily accomplished in a single season. The Nova Scotians were made so sensible of this, that they were willing to accept of four acre lots for the present, of which however they now became exceedingly eager to have immediate possession.

Both the Directors and the Sierra Leone Government were earnest to have this important work effected; for they were bound by the spirit of the promises made in Nova Scotia to lose no time in distributing the land, they were urged also by the continual importunities of the colonists, and they were at the same time influenced by pecuniary considerations to attempt the most speedy accomplishment of the business; since each colonist either continued to draw from the public stores a gratuitous allowance of provisions, until his lot of ground was given him, or else was employed in working under the Company, when perhaps there was no great occasion for his services.

The orders sent out by the Directors on the subject of provisions, extended only to an allowance for a term that was specified, and applied equally to the Nova Scotians, to the Company's servants, and to the few colonists from hence. The government were instructed to give to all these universally three months full allowance, equal to the common army allowance, and three months half allowance; but they, conceiving that the mo-

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tives which suggested the giving of this gratuity, as well as the equity and even the necessity of the case, called for some extension of it, thought proper to continue giving it to all those colonists who were kept out of possession of their four acre lots of land, and who were not engaged in the Company's employ. The Directors, though sensible of the great charge to which they were subjecting the Company, on taking all circumstances into their consideration, could not refuse their acquiescence in these measures of the government.

The importance of proceeding with as little delay as possible in the distribution of the lands was so strongly felt in the colony, that the Company's Surveyor of buildings (who took on him the duty of the Surveyor of lands, the latter having returned on account of ill health to England) attempted with the greatest spirit to begin his operations, together with a party of Nova Scotians, even before the rains were over; but he was repeatedly stopped by sickness. Nearly the whole succeeding dry season was consumed before the complete survey and distribution of the four acre lots were finished, though very great and constant exertions were made, and a large party of men were employed in the work.

The Directors feel much regret at having to mention to the Proprietors, that the land adjoining to the settlement has proved by no means

means so good as every account received before the institution of the Company had led them to expect. The description given of it in the work of Lieutenant Matthews, to which they had in some measure trusted, is far more favourable than further observation of that particular part of the country would have justified. The Directors state this to be a disappointment of the most serious kind, to which may be ascribed many of the difficulties, and a great part of the unexpected charges, that have attended the establishment of the colony. The site of Freetown is unquestionably the best that can be found, in respect of the salubrity of the air, the goodness of the water, and the convenience of the landing-place; it can hardly fail therefore to continue the chief place of trade, though other parts at a moderate distance, particularly those on the opposite side of the river, will be found the most favourable to cultivation. Considerable pains and expense have been bestowed on the improvement of the landing-place; several other public works of the first importance, such as the erecting of a church, hospital, warehouses, and other buildings (of which the frames were sent from hence), the fencing and cultivating of a garden of experiment, and the execution of some measures for the defence of the colony, have also constantly occupied a considerable number of the Nova Scotia blacks, and have caused a very large

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expense. The Directors have the satisfaction of observing, that no fort has been thought necessary.

As the second dry season advanced, the colony appears to have been improving in all respects. An alteration was made in the mode of government, a new council of three persons having been determined on by the Court of Directors instead of a council of eight; and two gentlemen of considerable experience*, the one used to a new colony, the other to a tropical climate, were the counsellors sent out.

Regular minutes of council were kept from this period, and also a journal of every material transaction in the colony, copies of which were sent to England from time to time. Periodical reports of the progress of each principal servant of the Company, in his particular department, were also made to the government, and transmitted, together with their remarks thereon, to the Directors; an indent was sent home of all the European articles likely to be consumed annually by the colonists; a more correct mode of corresponding was entered upon; and the original instructions of the Court, as well as various parts of their subsequent letters, were now, for the first time, fully answered.

* Mr. Dawes and Mr. Macaulay.

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At the same æra when this improvement took place in respect to the intelligence sent to England, the internal order of the colony appears to have advanced materially. New plans were formed for the maintenance of the police and the administration of justice; more general harmony began to prevail also among the Company's servants; some pains were taken to bring up and settle properly the Company's accounts which had fallen into great confusion, and more regularity of every kind was introduced: at the same time the public works gradually advanced, a plan was formed for rebuilding the town on a more extensive scale; and the natives (who continued perfectly friendly and often flocked to the settlement) appeared to view the improving state of Sierra Leone with increasing satisfaction.

The breaking out of the war indeed at this time damped the hopes, and in some measure interrupted the progress, of the rising colony; the embargo laid on shipping in England, at the beginning of it, detained some of the Company's vessels at a very inconvenient period; the prohibition to send out provisions, except in ships armed, as well as sailing with convoy, proved also highly detrimental to the settlement: great murmurs were excited by the temporary want of flour, which was the consequence, and the dread of not being able to get from the neighbourhood a sufficient quantity of rice (the substitute for bread to

which the Directors trusted) occasioned very serious uneasiness to the government. The additional price that was laid on the Company's goods, in consequence of the war, aggravated the discontent of the colonists ; and a part of the proposed plan for rebuilding the town was about this time vehemently objected to by the Nova Scotians, they refusing to admit of a reservation of ground near the shore, which the Government thought proper to make for the sake of public convenience : this last dispute was settled, after some degree of concession on the part of the company. The secret cause, however, to which the Directors have been informed that much of the dissatisfaction prevailing at this period may be traced, was the unbecoming conduct of one of the Company's servants, who, on Mr. Clarkson's leaving the colony, took occasion to prejudice a considerable party of labourers working under him, against the succeeding government. This body of men made an attempt to raise the price of labour in the colony, which was already very high, by combining to leave their work ; but not finding the government inclined to yield in any measure to their wishes, they returned, after a week's interval, to their employments, and the Company's servant who was supposed to have sown the seeds of this dissention, and who had also manifested the greatest disrespect towards the government, having come to England, was dismissed from the service.

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For the sake of satisfying the minds of the colonists, and securing the peace of the settlement, it was agreed that two delegates, to be chosen by the whole body of Nova Scotians, should be sent to England to lay their complaints before the Court of Directors. This measure appears to have immediately produced the good effect expected from it.

Many circumstances happened during the course of this second season, which clearly demonstrated the practicability of introducing cultivation, trade, and civilization into Africa, although the prevalence of the Slave Trade, and the counteracting influence of the persons engaged in it almost every where impeded, more or less, the views of the Company. One of the Members of Council, accompanied by another servant of the Company, made a voyage to the Island of Bananas, the Camarancas River, and the Plainain Island, all lying to the south of Sierra Leone, conversed with some of the chiefs, and happily removed, in a great measure, the prejudices which they had imbibed against the Company, whose designs had been represented to them as directly hostile to their interest. As much information on the general subject of Civilization will be given in detail hereafter, no more than the brief mention of the success of the Company's endeavours to interest the chiefs in their favour, seems in this place necessary.

The advancing state of a regular plantation of the Company, worked by native labourers, on the side of the river opposite to Freetown, is another subject necessary to be noticed here, in order to give a just idea of the progress of the Colony; but this also, as well as the benefits derived from the labours of the Company's botanist, will be more particularly spoken of under the head of Cultivation.

The Directors are sorry to mention, that the exertions of their mineralogist, who was promising to himself great success in his researches, were suddenly terminated by an unhappy accident which brought on his death. His impatience to pursue the objects for the sake of which he went out, led him, contrary to the opinion of the Governor and Council, to attempt an incursion into the interior country before the rains were over: he was furnished with goods to the amount of £200 or £300, with which he proposed to trade as well as to purchase necessaries during his journey, and he was attended when he set off by one or two free blacks. It appears that he was after a short time plundered of his goods, in a part of the country where some danger of this sort might have been apprehended. When he got back to Sierra Leone, he was too weak and exhausted by a fever, which he had contracted during his expedition, to give any distinct account of his misfortunes, or of the hardships he had suffered on his return, and he died a few days after.

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A number of other circumstances very interesting to the colony, and to the feelings of the Directors, have happened from time to time, which, if they were all detailed, would extend this report to a very considerable length: the recital of them would tend to shew the variety of unexpected difficulties, accidents, and dangers to which a new colony is subject, and more fully to explain the causes of that very large expenditure which the Directors will have to state: it would also serve to exhibit the growing strength of the colony; and to prove that it has now become much more able to surmount any common accident, than it had been during its earlier infancy.

One event not yet noticed deserves to be particularized; that of the arrival at Sierra Leone of the late King Naimbanna's son, who had come to England for education, and his death within two days after. His character and improvement in learning will make an interesting article, when the particular point of the Civilization of Africa is considered. His father, who was king or chief of Sierra Leone, died a few months after the institution of the colony, to which he shewed himself on all occasions the firmest friend, and the news of his decease occasioned his son's return. It is not at all probable, that if the son had lived he would have been elected King by the chiefs with whom the choice lies; for they seem disposed in this instance,

instance, as has been the custom in other cases, to prefer some person of a more advanced age to all the young relations of the deceased. But though the Directors had no expectation that the son would succeed to the situation of his father, yet there were circumstances which led them to hope that he would not fail to render most important services to the Company on his return to his native country; and they therefore wish to pay to his memory the just tribute of observing, that they consider the death of so sincere a friend to the Sierra Leone Company, and of so enlightened an African, as one of the calamities with which they have been visited, and as one of the instances in which Providence has been pleased to disappoint the immediate hopes and expectations of the infant colony. A suspicion arose amongst his countrymen, in consequence of the groundless suggestion of a black, that he had been poisoned by a servant of the Company on ship board, and a long palaver was held upon the subject; by which, though it ended favourably, some alarm was excited in the settlement, and some very unreasonable expenses, through the necessity of entertaining a great concourse of natives, were incurred.

The Directors in giving this historical account of the colony, which they have now brought down to the beginning of the second rainy season, have not spoken of the Trade
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of the Company, that being a subject which will be better treated of by itself. It must be obvious, from the view of things which has been given, that the establishment of the colony, involving as it has done the happiness of above a thousand persons, and implicating also in a great measure the future commercial interests of the Company, has hitherto been the chief object. Considerable exertions however were made during the second dry season in the way of trade, the Governor and Council having followed up the orders sent out on this subject with great spirit.

But there the Directors have to mention another calamity very lately announced to them, which is likely to produce some degree of inconvenience to the colony, as well as interruption to the trade; but which is chiefly to be lamented on account of the pecuniary loss attending it, namely, the destruction of the Company's store-ship the York, with a considerable quantity of goods in her, by fire. These consisted partly of the cargo of the ship Harpy, which had lately arrived from England, and partly of African produce, valued at about £4000, which had been collected by the Company's small vessels up and down the coast, and was on the point of being sent to England. The fire is stated to have happened in the day time, but to have spread nevertheless with great rapidity, having caught the awning over the deck: some attempts were made to induce both the natives and

settlers

settlers to assist in extinguishing it, but they all refused to approach the vessel, conceiving that a large quantity of gunpowder was on board, nor, would they credit any assurances to the contrary. The whole loss sustained by the Company on this occasion, is calculated by the Governor and Council at above £.15,000. No insurance had been made either on the vessel or the goods in her, which indeed it would not have been very practicable to effect, to any considerable extent, under all the circumstances of the case. The same vessel which brought home the account of the fire, brought also the first information both of the collection of this African produce, and of the arrival at Sierra Leone of the goods which were burnt.

The Directors have the satisfaction of observing to the Court, that the same dispatches which conveyed this unhappy intelligence, brought also very favourable accounts of the colony, particularly in respect to healthiness, up to the end of the second rainy season. In the period corresponding to that which had carried off, in the preceding year, one tenth of the blacks and nearly one half of the whites, no particular mortality had happened; and yet the last season is said to have been more unfavourable than usual, the rains having been heavy, and the mortality in the neighbouring factories uncommonly great. It is observable also, that the residents on shore
are

are found now to have their health much better than those on ship-board, the experience of the second year being in this respect the reverse of the experience of the first: even the mortality on ship-board, however, appears in the second year to have decreased. On the whole therefore the Directors trust, that since the colony has stood its ground even during the worst part of a very unhealthy year, it may now fairly be considered as in a state of progressive improvement.

Having thus brought the History of the settlement down to the period of Christmas 1793, the Directors will state in the next place some circumstances which have taken place in England, before they proceed to give an account of the sums which have been expended, and of the present state of the Company's capital.

It has been already mentioned that two delegates, chosen by the body of Nova Scotians, were permitted by the Governor and council to go to England, in order to lay the various complaints of their constituents before the Court of Directors. They presented a petition purporting to be the sense of the whole body, couched in strong terms, which however the Directors have some reason to think were not thoroughly approved by a great part of the Nova Scotians: the petition had never been shewn to the Governor and Council. The points complained of were, chiefly,
the

the high price of goods at the Company's storehouse; the inadequate wages paid to them by the Company for their labour; the nonfulfilment of certain promises said to have been made to them by Mr. Clarkson; and a variety of trifling instances of supposed misconduct in the succeeding Governor.

The Court of Directors, after fully considering the petition, and hearing the evidence of the delegates thereupon, came to the following resolution, which was communicated to them :

“ Resolved,

“ That the Court consider the petition of the Nova Scotians as hasty, and the facts therein mentioned as chiefly founded on mistake and misinformation.

“ That it appears to have been drawn up and agreed to, at a time when the unfortunate delay of the Company's ships, through the breaking out of the war, had occasioned some temporary distress and dissatisfaction, which some designing person or persons then in the colony may have contributed to increase.

“ The Court are of opinion therefore, that through the arrival of the large supplies lately sent from hence, and the continued care and attention of the Governor and Council to the interests of the colony, every material cause of dissatisfaction will have ceased before the arrival of these resolutions

at

“ at Sierra Leone. As it is undoubtedly
 “ the interests of the colonists, so the Di-
 “ rectors trust it will also be their general
 “ wish, to promote harmony and to discour-
 “ tenance all factious attempts to discredit
 “ the Government of Sierra Leone; since on
 “ their due obedience to government, under
 “ the blessing of Providence, their happiness,
 “ their liberty, and perhaps their very lives,
 “ depend. It is on this ground that the
 “ Directors earnestly exhort the general body
 “ of Nova Scotians, both as freemen and
 “ as Christians, to discourage all unreason-
 “ able discontent, to pay respect and obe-
 “ dience to the government: and if, contrary
 “ to the Directors expectations, any actual
 “ grievances should exist at the time of re-
 “ ceiving this resolution, the Court of Di-
 “ rectors recommend it to the Nova Scotians
 “ temperately to represent the case to the
 “ Governor and Council. But if they should
 “ hereafter conceive it to be necessary to
 “ prefer their complaints hither, that they
 “ will, in such case, previously acquaint the
 “ Governor and Council with the purport of
 “ them; in order that the Court may receive
 “ their sentiments thereupon, and may thus
 “ have the whole of the subject at once be-
 “ fore them.”

The delegates having been made acquainted
 with the above resolution, a very hasty re-
 monstrance from them was the consequence,
 in which they betrayed the same kind of ve-
 hemence

hemence and disrespect to the Court of Directors, which had occasionally been shewn to the government at Sierra Leone. * After about two months further detention in England, during which it was thought proper to make them a small allowance for their subsistence, and after some further interviews with the Directors, they set sail, having apparently become perfectly well disposed to the Company.

The Proprietors must probably have been led to reflect in the course of the preceding History, and especially in consequence of the last mentioned circumstances, how important as well as difficult a part of the Directors duty it has been, to give tolerable satisfaction to the Nova Scotians on the one hand, and to avoid every profuse and improper application of the Company's funds on the other. And indeed the Directors have so often had occasion to notice to the Court the trouble and expense which the Nova Scotians have occasioned, that some doubt may probably have been excited, concerning the general expediency of the measure of introducing them into the colony. A few further observations seem therefore necessary to be added, in order to leave a just impression both of the advan-

* It has since appeared that the Delegates held communication with the dismissed servant of the Company (at this time in England) who has been already alluded to.

tages and disadvantages which have resulted from the migration of this body of men to Sierra Leone.

It must be admitted that the charge which they have brought on the Company has been extremely great; the grant of provisions, which was made on the principle already mentioned, may be estimated at about twenty thousand pounds; the Company's establishment has in almost every part of it been unavoidably enlarged in proportion to the number of colonists; the Company's ships have been necessarily employed in a great measure for their use; and an expense has likewise been incurred in the distribution of the lands allotted to them: some loss has also been sustained by taking more of them into the Company's employ, than were always wanted for the public service, and by allowing them at the same time a rate of wages which, though complained of in several of their memorials to the government, was at least twice as high as that given to the natives, who nevertheless are nearly equal to the Nova Scotians in the article of common labour; though it must be confessed that the natives are totally incapable of some very necessary branches of work, with which the Nova Scotians are tolerably well acquainted.

These are the principal charges to which the Company has been subjected by the accession of this body of colonists: they are charges of which for the most part it was,

from the nature of them, impossible to make any just estimate before-hand, and the extent of which, on account of the unexpected number that embarked, as well as the various delays and disappointments that happened at Sierra Leone, was certainly not foreseen. But it should be remembered, that when the Directors invited these settlers to Sierra Leone they acted necessarily on probabilities; they were aware that various circumstances very difficult to be calculated might arise, but a prompt decision on their part was indispensable. They thought it prudent, on the whole to make the promises in the declaration that has been read to the Court, and the Nova Scotians have crossed the seas on the faith of having them fulfilled. The Directors however fairly avow, that, besides a literal compliance with the stipulations made in Nova Scotia, they consider themselves also to be under a moral obligation not to leave the colonists to experience any extremities, which the Company can relieve, until it shall be possible for them to support themselves by their lands, or by some other means: and on this ground it is that they have never yet hesitated to send out to the settlement whatsoever goods they had reason to believe were strictly necessary for its consumption; leaving it to the discretion of the Governor and Council to furnish such articles, as they thought fit to the colonists on credit.

If

If those expectations which the Directors formed, and which they think they had good reason to form at the time when they invited over the Nova Scotians, had been fulfilled; if the land round Freetown had been as fruitful as it was described; and the Nova Scotians had proved as manageable and as industrious as they were represented, and as they appeared for some space of time to be; the charges would then unquestionably have been less, and the advantages on the other hand would have been much greater, than they have proved: nor can any doubt be entertained that the transplanting of this body of men to Sierra Leone would, in that case, have been a measure in a high degree beneficial both to themselves, to the Company, and to Africa.

But even under all the difficulties and disappointments which have arisen, the advantages that have resulted from their migration have been many and important; though they have been advantages that have accrued rather to Africa and to the colonists themselves, than to the Proprietors.

A more rapid improvement in the healthiness of the settlement, through the more enlarged size of the town, and the more extended cultivation of the soil, a greater facility in inducing valuable men to go out on account of the greater importance of the undertaking, a more considerable extension of the Company's reputation and influence in Africa, and a quicker progress in civilization, but,

above all, a far greater security hereby obtained against any attack that might be dreaded either from the natives or any other enemy—all these are advantages which evidently belong to an undertaking on a larger, rather than to one on a smaller, scale; and if therefore there be no danger, lest the funds which may properly be destined to the establishment of the colony should be exhausted before it has arrived at maturity, it can hardly be denied that so powerful a body of colonists must afford a far better prospect of succeeding in the great objects of the institution.

The Directors in proceeding to lay before the Court an account of the Expenses which have been incurred, and a general state of the Company's finances, have only further to premise, that in discharging their important trust, they have endeavoured to practise that species of œconomy which is connected both with sound policy and with substantial justice. They have had a duty to fulfil to three descriptions of persons: to the Proprietors in the first place, with whose money they have been entrusted; to their servants at home and abroad, who ought to be fairly requited according to the nature of their services; and they have also been under that obligation of duty to the colonists which has been already spoken of. To reconcile these
different,

different, for they will not call them contending, claims, has been the great object of the Directors.

They will state first the Expenses incurred in establishing the colony, of which, though the total can hardly fail to be tolerably correct, yet many particulars, in consequence of the causes already stated, are taken merely from estimate.

EXPENSES INCURRED

I N

ESTABLISHING THE COLONY.

Charges antecedent to the incorporation of the Company, consisting chiefly of two small vessels, sent to explore the country with a view to a future settlement	} £.	£.
	1200	
Charges of incorporation	650	
	<hr/>	1850

Charges of Home Establishment, viz.

Furniture and repairs of the Sierra Leone House	450	
House-keeper's salary, coals, candles, house rent and taxes, and other incidental expenses for about two years, to Christmas 1793	} 745	
Printing, advertising, postage, books, stationary and counting-house charges, for about two years, to ditto	} 850	
Officers and clerks salaries to ditto	1480	
	<hr/>	3525
Expense of educating and clothing natives sent to England, and their passages, about	} ...	500

Charges of the Establishment at
Sierra Leone, viz.

Temporary allowance of provisions to all the Company's servants, and expense of the table of the governor, botanist, and mineralogist, &c. estimated at	} 3250	
Passage of servants and artificers out and home, estimated at	5000	
Their travelling expenses and other charges in England	} 380	
Amount of salaries to Sierra Leone servants for about two years, to Christmas 1793	7500	
	<hr/>	16130
Carried forward		£.22005

	£.	£.
Brought forward	22005

Incidental expenses in the Colony,

viz.

Medicines, surgical instruments, books and stationary, &c.	- - - -	1630
Equipment of botanist and mineralogist	- - - -	400
Presents to chiefs, expense of palavers, and various other incidental charges	- - - -	1500

 3530

Expense of the Outfit and Maintenance of such part of the Company's SHIPPING, as was employed for the protection and accommodation of the colony, and in collecting provisions and live stock on the coast, about	- - - -	17840
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Expense of Provisions granted to the colonists before they were put into possession of their lands, estimated at	- - - -	20000
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Sundry Losses and Gratuities in England, consisting chiefly of sums advanced to the Company's servants, which were not recovered through their dying or retiring from the service, and of gratuities paid according to the terms of the Company's engagement to the near relations of the deceased	- - - -	1245
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SUPPOSED EXPENSE in ESTABLISHING the COLONY	- - - -	64620
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To which is to be added the loss sustained by the burning of the ship York, estimated at	- - - -	15000
And other losses by robbery, damage through exposure to the climate, and articles that proved unserviceable	- - - -	3000

 18000

SUPPOSED EXPENSE of ESTABLISHING the COLONY, the LOSS INCLUDED	- - - -	£. 82620
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The CAPITAL STOCK of the Company is 235280

The interest received thereon is 7619

Making together - - - - 242899

From which if the above sum of 82620 be taken,

There remains - - - - £. 160279 to be accounted for, which is done in the following manner :

DEAD STOCK at SIERRA LEONE, which, though stated as part of the remaining effects of the Company, is nevertheless not to be considered as convertible into money, nor as bearing a value by any means equal to the sum which it has cost, consisting of buildings, lands, and fortifications, &c. at Sierra Leone.

Buildings belonging to the Company, viz.

Cost at Sierra Leone of a church, warehouse, range of shops, two hospitals, two dwelling-houses, and four canvas houses, sent from England, about	} £.	£.
	3939	
Cost at Sierra Leone of various materials for finishing the buildings belonging to the Company. viz. bricks, tiles, lime, scantling, and deals, about	} 4500	
Cost of putting together the buildings sent out, and of the erection of other buildings for the use of the Company's servants, about	} 3300	
Expended in improving the landing-place, making a wharf, roads, and sundry public works, about	} 3000	
A large crane, fire engines, &c.	705	
Furniture for the use of the governor, physician, and chaplain	} 500	
	—	15935

Lands, viz.

Expended in purchase of lands at Sierra Leone and in cultivation on the Company's account	} 1750	
In the allotment of lands to the Nova Scotians, on which a rent is reserved to the Company, about	} 2500	
	—	4250

Articles for the defence of the colony, viz.

Expended in arms, ammunition, and other articles	} 2500	
In labour and construction of works of defence about	2000	4500

Total Dead Stock £. 24625

	£.	£.
Capital in Trade, viz.		
African produce in England, estimated at	- 1000	24685
Cargoes of three vessels how on } £. 16900		
their passage out - - - - - }	6500	
Deduct for goods not paid for 10400	-	
Goods at Sierra Leone, or on board the Com- }	7900	
pany's vessels on the coast - - - }		
Value of dollars in the colony, about -	1000	
Debts due from the colonists to the Company } much the greater part of which is expected	2000	
to be recovered, about - - - }		
Present estimated value of the Company's }		
Shipping - - - - - }		
Total Capital now invested in trade -		

Property belonging to the Company
placed at interest, &c. or invested
in public securities, viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.
Placed at interest in the							
hands of the Royal } 39000	0	0					
Bank of Scotland - }							
At Messrs. Barnett and } 151	10	9					
Co's. the bankers, &c. }							
				39151	10	9	
Invested in 4 per cent. }							
consolidated Bank } 15140	0	0					
Annuities - - - }							
In India bills and bonds } 23168	12	8					
In Navy and victualling } 30733	16	7					
bills - - - }							
				69042	9	3	
Total property at interest and in public							
securities - - - - -							108194
TOTAL REMAINING EFFECTS of the							
COMPANY, the DEAD STOCK at SIER-							
RA LEONE included, on the 1st of March,							£. 160279
1793 - - - - -							

THE Directors have thus stated, as correctly as they are able, the whole expenditure that has taken place, and the situation of the funds of the Company ; but they cannot dismiss this subject without observing, that they consider the expenses of which they have been giving the account as extremely great, and as very far exceeding every idea which the Proprietors can be supposed originally to have formed of their probable extent. The extraordinary magnitude of them has been owing to a variety of unforeseen circumstances, which, though already touched upon in the preceding narrative, the Directors will shortly recapitulate. They appear principally to be the following :

First, the inefficiency of the original body of counsellors, who gave occasion to great irregularity in the outset of the colony, and it is to be feared also, to much prodigality and waste.

Secondly, the sickness and mortality of the first rainy season, which not only suspended for a time almost all the industry of the colony, but likewise tended to aggravate, in various ways, several chief heads of expense.

Thirdly, the unproductiveness of the land adjoining the town, which by diminishing the means of present support to the colonists, has necessarily thrown an increased weight of expense upon the Company.

Fourthly, the burning of the York, a misfortune

fortune of the first magnitude, if considered in a pecuniary light.

Fifthly: one further circumstance remains to be mentioned, namely, the breaking out of the war; an event, which besides putting the Company to the expense of furnishing additional protection to the settlement, has raised the cost of the European articles carried thither to a considerable degree; which has therefore increased the expense of living at Sierra Leone, has tended to prevent the decrease that might have been looked for in the price of labour, and has thus enhanced the charge of prosecuting those public works in which the Company, at a more early period, thought proper to engage. The Directors might also notice a number of other disadvantages to which the Company has been subjected by the war; such as the long detention which it has occasioned to some of their vessels, and the difficulty and expense of procuring and maintaining sailors: the uncertainty which the war has caused in the transmission of intelligence, may also be stated both as a pecuniary disadvantage and a very material inconvenience..

Having thus enumerated the principal unforeseen causes whereby the charges of establishing the colony have been aggravated, the Directors wish to notice two particular heads of expense in the preceding account, which have exceeded their expectation very considerably

considerably indeed : they allude to the charge of £20,000 for provisions, and that of £17,840 for maintenance of such part of the Company's shipping, as has been applied to the protection and use of the colony.

The Directors have the satisfaction of observing, that of these two chief heads of charge, the former has now entirely, and the latter has very nearly, ceased ; and they wish to inform the General Court, that they are using their best endeavours to put a period in like manner to all expenses, except those which either fall under the head of Trade, and Cultivation on the Company's own account, or belong to the annual establishment. They trust indeed that the reduction of expenses which they have been aiming at, is now nearly effected ; and that while the chief difficulties of the colony are subsiding on the one hand, the Company's burthen in supporting it is ceasing also on the other.

On the whole, when the Directors review what is past, they are ready to own that they see some things, which, if possessed of more experience, they might have conducted in a more frugal or advantageous manner ; they however perceive many of the untoward circumstances which have arisen, to have been such as human foresight could not have anticipated, nor human wisdom have controlled :
they

they can also look back upon many escapes and deliverances which the colony has experienced, not through any care or management of those whom the Proprietors have appointed to superintend it, but through that help of Providence alone, which has hitherto protected it.—When they look forward, they are led, from their own past experience, to expect some further difficulties and dangers, not now possible to be distinctly spoken of or provided against: and they are aware also that the beginning of colonization has been in general arduous, hazardous, and expensive; far more so than the minds of those who first engaged in such undertakings have been disposed to believe. The Directors therefore by no means allow themselves to indulge any expectations of rapid and uninterrupted success, yet they are induced, by the gradual advances towards maturity which the colony has already made in the midst of many difficulties, to entertain an increasing hope of its establishment and future prosperity; and they feel for their own part very sufficient encouragement steadily and cheerfully to persevere. They are conscious however, that after all the attention due to such an undertaking has been given to it, they must leave the event to the Supreme Disposal of Him, who can either disappoint utterly, if he pleases, the most favourite schemes of men; can obstruct and suspend for a while their accomplishment; or can crown them, if he sees

fees fit, with the most signal and unexpected success.

They will proceed now to speak of the several heads of which they gave notice that they should treat particularly, in the introduction to this Report.

HEALTH.

HEALTH.

THE Directors have already mentioned the causes to which they are persuaded that the mortality in the first rainy season at Sierra Leone ought to be ascribed ; but their observations on this subject will be very much illustrated and confirmed by the statement of some particulars respecting it.

The upper servants of the Company who went out in the first year, were twenty-six in number ; these consisted of eight counsellors, a chaplain, several medical persons, a secretary, accountant, and some others, who were all well accommodated : no more than four of this class in that year died, and of these four deaths only two can properly be charged to the climate.

Of lower servants, such as clerks in the store-house, overseers, a gardener, baker, and several artificers, there went out fifty-nine persons, their families being included, of whom no less than twenty-nine died ; many of these were often exposed to the rains, and several of them were intemperate ; they were also in general uncomfortably lodged, and, in consequence of the sickness prevailing among the surgeons, they could have but a small share of the medical attendance.

Of settlers there went out, including their families,

families, eighteen, of whom no less than thirteen died ; some of these were much addicted to liquor, and their situation was in every respect worse than that of the last mentioned class.

Of soldiers there went out sixteen, who were almost universally intemperate : when it is also considered how they must have been circumstanced in other respects, it cannot excite much surprise that so many as eleven of these should have died.

In all there went out in the first year, one hundred and nineteen white persons, of whom fifty-seven died.

In the second year, all the soldiers and settlers, as well as the families of the lower whites, having either died or returned to England, the whites resident in the colony were reduced to about forty, of whom only four or five have died.

The Directors do not include in this account any deaths among the officers and crews of the Company's ships, because, as they were not always stationed at Sierra Leone, the question of the healthiness or unhealthiness of the colony is not much affected by the degree of mortality among them ; nor has any complete return on this subject as yet reached England. The Directors are led to judge however, from the information which has been received from the greater part of their ships, that between twenty and thirty white sailors may have died on board of all their vessels in
the

the space of two years: the whole number of sailors in their service has seldom exceeded one hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty, and the mortality may perhaps therefore be fairly computed at about *seven* or *eight* per cent. per annum.*

The mortality among the Nova Scotians has been as follows. The number of those that landed in the year 1792 was eleven hundred and thirty-one, many of them being very ill through the remains of a fever which appears to have been fatal to a few of their original body in Nova Scotia, and to have carried off sixty-five of them during the passage: of these eleven hundred and thirty-one persons thus landed, forty died within a few weeks after they reached Sierra Leone, evidently in consequence of the same fever: the whole body then became extremely healthy, but when the rainy season was set in, an almost universal sickness prevailed, of which ninety-eight Nova Scotians died, which was nearly one-tenth of their whole number.

In the second rainy season, although some return of sickness has been experienced, yet

* It appears from the evidence of the substance of the muster rolls from Liverpool and Bristol, given in to his Majesty's privy counsel, and inserted in their lordship's printed report, that the mortality among the sailors during one voyage in the Slave Trade, is about *twenty-one* per cent. eight hundred and fifty-eight sailors having died out of four thousand and eighty, who formed the crews of one hundred and twelve ships.

the deaths among the Nova Scotians have been very few indeed. The account which the Directors have received does not extend to the whole year, but it appears that not more than five of them have died during three of the most unhealthy months.

The following is an extract from a report of the Company's physician, written in the most unfavourable period of the last rainy season, being dated the 14th of October, 1793.

“ Although the degree of sickness since
 “ the commencement of the present year has
 “ been upon the whole comparatively small,
 “ and the loss sustained by deaths trifling, yet
 “ those months which have elapsed since the
 “ beginning of the rains have proved more
 “ sickly than all the preceding. The Nova
 “ Scotians have experienced during the rains
 “ a considerable share of sickness, but in
 “ general the complaints were trifling. They
 “ appear now to be so well accustomed to
 “ the climate, that there is little reason to
 “ apprehend any great mortality among them.
 “ There are but few who still suffer from the
 “ effects of last year's sickness, or whose
 “ health is precarious. Few places perhaps
 “ in England, of the same size, can shew a
 “ greater number of fine healthy looking
 “ children than are daily to be seen in our
 “ schools; the heat of the climate appears to
 “ have little effect upon them.—During this
 “ period fevers have been pretty frequent
 “ among the whites; I have every reason
 “ to

“ to hope the sick list is on the decrease, and
 “ I flatter myself they will all be restored
 “ to health. One very unfavourable circum-
 “ stance has attended our sick this year, the
 “ want of flour; it being seriously felt by
 “ those in health, much more so by the sick.”

The subsequent dispatches of the 26th December, 1793, give a much more favourable account of the health of the colony at that time, and mention the mortality of that whole year to have been as already stated to the Court.

The Directors think it proper here to add a remark that chiefly regards themselves, concerning that vast mortality among the whites which happened in the first year. The Proprietors must have observed that the greatest proportion of deaths was among the settlers, the soldiers, the lower servants, and artificers. It affords the Directors no small satisfaction to reflect, that instead of urging any of these to adventure out, they refused to engage many persons of each of these three descriptions, whom they were earnestly solicited to send, and were with difficulty prevailed on to carry out those who went.

The unwillingness of the Directors to take out that class among whom the mortality was the greatest, namely, the European settlers, gave umbrage to several persons who were very eager to become African colonists, and in

part perhaps gave occasion to the institution of the Bulam Company.

Their indisposition to enlarge the number of soldiers, among whom, next to the settlers, the mortality was the greatest, occasioned the resignation of one or two of their chief servants, and at the same time drew a strong remonstrance from several gentlemen, who were purposing to adventure out. The Directors were also so much aware of the various evils which might result from the maintenance even of their small military establishment, that they wrote to recall all the soldiers as soon as the peaceableness of the natives was ascertained, but the order arrived too late.

They were so sensible also of the danger to which the artificers and their families, who formed a material part of the third class, were exposed, (most of whom through an accident at sea were likely not to arrive till the eve of the rainy season) that they offered to discharge a great part of them in England, not only indemnifying them for their loss of time, but adding also some gratuity; a few accepted the offer, but a great part, including almost all those who had families, were bent on the prosecution of the voyage.

The Directors have mentioned these minute circumstances, for the sake of letting it appear that they have been far from eager, on their part, in pressing those to go to Sierra Leone who have run the greatest risk of their lives in adventuring thither, and for the sake
of

of pointing out also the extreme danger to which those persons are exposed on their arrival in a tropical climate, who are either unprovided with the means of comfortable accommodation and subsistence; or who are likely to fall into any habits of intemperance; for the above detail will shew that these are the two principal causes to which the extraordinary mortality is evidently to be traced.

The Directors having thus endeavoured to give an exact and impartial account of those circumstances and events in the colony which relate to the subject of Health, are desirous of leaving its character in this respect to rest on the simple evidence of the abovementioned facts; they will only add, that they are not aware of any reasons why the climate of Sierra Leone should prove eventually inferior to that of many settlements between the tropics, in different quarters of the world, of which the healthiness is now undisputed; for some of these have been much more unfavourable to the health of the first settlers than Sierra Leone has yet proved: it seems therefore very reasonable to expect, that in proportion as cultivation advances, and all the accommodations of life improve, the same gradual amendment will take place in the healthiness of this colony, which has been experienced in other cases.

T R A D E.

IN speaking of the Trade of the Company, the Directors have rather to mention the orders given and the steps taken, with a view to its institution, than to report much actual progress.

They sent out a moderate assortment of goods for trade by the very first ships, but though this was done in consequence of the advice of the commercial agent himself, who took charge of them and who was well acquainted with the coast, yet no effort to dispose of them was made during his continuance in their service. The chief part of these articles consequently remained on ship-board during the rains; even many of those intended for immediate use in the colony were not delivered out of the vessels till after this period, and it is to be feared, that through the misconduct of this person, as well as the inefficiency of the Council and the consequent confusion in the colony which has been stated, while many individuals were losing their lives on the one hand, no small part of the Company's property was dissipated on the other.

The irregularity that prevailed in the commercial department, was much aggravated by the illness of almost all the persons employed in

in it. The sickness of the chief storekeeper was such that he was obliged to return to England; the chief accountant died; the chief commercial agent, who has been already spoken of, died also, without having rendered up any regular accounts; several inferior storekeepers, as has been mentioned under the preceding head, fell victims to the severe duty which the difficulties of this period imposed on them; and the persons who, through the necessity of the case, were appointed on the spot to fill the vacancies, were little used to book-keeping; one person alone remained (the present book-keeper) who was properly acquainted with mercantile business.

Thus it has happened, that the Directors, who thought they had done every thing that depended on them to secure punctuality in accounts, from the very institution of the colony, have found themselves entirely deprived of the proper means of examining into the expenditure and application of all the first cargoes; and they are sorry to add, that although one of the Members of Council applied himself, for a considerable time, to the establishment of a proper system of book-keeping, yet his efforts also have been rendered abortive through the burning of the York, whereby all the most material books of the colony were destroyed.

The Court will not wonder that the Directors were slow in sending out articles for
trade

trade at a time when so much confusion was known to prevail in the colony, and when the commercial servants, who had died or returned to England, were not yet replaced. The Company's present commercial agent however carried out a large assortment suited to the African market, a great part of which was immediately distributed on board the Company's small vessels, which went with them down the coast; the remainder, as has been stated, were unfortunately destroyed on board the York,

In order to give a more complete idea of the commercial plans of the Directors, it may be proper here to mention the number of vessels of every kind belonging to the Company, and the services in which they are employed. They have one ship, the Harpy, of 380 tons burthen; another, the Amy, of 200 tons; and ten vessels of 35 to 120 tons. The York, of 850 tons, having been destroyed, one of the two larger ships is for a time likely to be used in her stead as a store ship, while the other of them may carry goods to and from Sierra Leone; all the smaller vessels being chiefly engaged in collecting produce on the African coast, which they are ordered to convey to the colony as the place of deposit.

The Court, in the outset of their undertaking, were led from various causes to purchase rather than to charter the vessels which carried

ried out goods for Sierra Leone: but the vast expence which has been found to attend their larger ships, has disinclined them from making any further purchases of this sort. •

It should be observed, that the chief part of those heavy expences which have been hitherto incurred in the maintenance of the shipping, and which have been much enhanced by the war, though mentioned under this head, have been stated in the account as a charge on the Establishment of the colony, and not on the Trade of the Company. The Directors however have the satisfaction of knowing, that every one of their smaller vessels has been for some time employed in trading expeditions, and that of their two large ships, one is now engaged in trade, and the other is made use of at Sierra Leone both as a receptacle for goods and a protection to the colony.

The Governor and Council have thought proper, as a subsidiary means of securing a considerable quantity of produce, to establish a few small factories, chiefly in the neighbouring rivers, which has been done at a trifling expence. The French slave factory at Gambia, which commanded one branch of the river Sierra Leone, being situated a few miles above Freetown, has recently been relinquished. Other openings of various kinds have arisen, the particulars of which the Directors will not be expected to detail; and though not more than a small quantity of African produce,

produce, amounting to a few thousand pounds, has, for the reasons already mentioned, as yet reached England ; yet in no respect do the Governor and Council state the prospects of the Company to have more considerably improved, than in the openings in the way of Trade which have appeared in the last year ; and especially in the latter part of it, when the general declension of the African commerce, through the failure of mercantile credit in England, was very observable on the coast.

The Directors must here remark, however, that they look forward to the period of the abolition of the Slave Trade, as the great æra when a considerable commerce in African produce may be expected to commence. When the Africans, who have been long habituated to European articles, shall find that nothing will be taken in return but the produce of their land and labour, then this produce must unquestionably increase. They already shew a disposition to till the soil, if adequate encouragement be given them, as the facts which will be cited under the head of Cultivation will sufficiently evince : and as soon as the Slave Trade shall fail them, there is therefore the strongest reason to hope that cultivation will immediately proceed ; and it is not unnatural to suppose that those articles may be raised, and those plans of industry adopted, of which the banks of the river Sierra Leone will have set the example.

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The Directors are not without hope that if any measure should be taken by the British parliament, even for the limitation of the Slave Trade, it may have some salutary effect in promoting African industry, increasing the produce to be collected, and thus serving the Company. As yet they labour under disadvantages, which they trust will not always be imposed on those who refuse to unite a traffic in their fellow creatures with a trade in natural produce: they also willingly suffer some present loss by furnishing articles rather superior in quality, and somewhat different in kind, from those commonly sent to Africa; and in many respects they have endeavoured to purify the principles of the African Trade, which they have found in general to be dreadfully corrupt. In particular they have restrained, and in some cases abolished, though not without a temporary inconvenience, the custom of making large presents of rum to the chiefs connected with them. They trust also they have gone to the root of another evil, by introducing a considerable quantity of coin into the colony, and thus substituting the plain and certain medium of dollars in place of the former one of bars;* which having been a medium of calculation that was extremely variable and confused, and merely nominal, has occasioned much

* The word *bar* implied originally a bar of iron, which was one of the most common articles of commerce, and might be worth about three shillings sterling.

trouble and dispute, and given the opportunity of practising perpetual frauds in the African commerce.

The Directors have reason on the whole to hope, that they have acquired some credit in Africa, not only by the general principles of their undertaking, but by the approved quality of their goods also, as well as by the fairness of their servants in all their commercial transactions; and however slow they may have appeared in their progress, they trust therefore that they have laid some foundation, on which a commercial intercourse may advantageously proceed,

CULTIVATION.

THE subject of Cultivation may be divided into two heads, that on the Company's own account, and that produced, or likely to be produced, either on the lands of the Nova Scotians or among the natives themselves.

It was a part of the original plan of the Directors, to set on foot as soon as possible two or three plantations on their own account, and they accordingly sent out three managers (or planters) and several overseers used to tropical cultivation. The distresses of the colony during the first rainy season induced one of the planters to quit the place, an opportunity being afforded him of returning to the West Indies; many of the overseers died; of the two planters that remained, one was employed for a time in preparing a cotton plantation near Freetown, but as he has returned to England, and as the land in question has been much wanted for other purposes, this undertaking is suspended for the present; and a few of those Nova Scotians whose lots of land proved particularly barren, have now the temporary use of this fruitful spot, from which crops of various articles useful to the colony have been raised.

Of

Of the other plantation undertaken on the Company's account, which is still successfully proceeding under the management of the remaining planter, who went out by one of the first ships, the Directors propose to speak very particularly; since they believe that this is the first experiment of the kind which has been made in Africa, and that a minute account of its progress may serve to throw considerable light on the question, whether it be practicable to cultivate the lands of that continent by means of the free labour of its own inhabitants.

When it was found that the soil around Freetown was not so favourable to cultivation as was expected, the planter who has been last alluded to,* with the same laudable and ardent zeal which has ever since distinguished him, made many successive expeditions both down the coast, along the river side, and into the interior country, with a view of learning the quality of the soil in all the more distant parts. He reported that he had found extremely good land on the other side of the river; offered, if any purchase of it could be made, to settle himself there among the natives, and to attempt, with their help alone, a regular plantation. A mile square of land was obtained without difficulty from the chief of that district, in consideration of an annual rent equal to £. 16; and about

* Mr. James Watt, formerly manager of the Estate of George Rose, Esq. M. P. in Dominica.

thirty grumettas, or free native labourers, were got together by his assistance. The first work to which they were put was that of building a house for the manager; they were next employed in cutting down the wood, which entirely covered the country; and they proceeded then to hoe the ground, and to plant it with sugar cane, cotton, rice, and other vegetables. The terms of engaging them were four or five bars a month, but as the valuing of the bars proved a source of some altercation, the price of three dollars a month, or about 3s. 6d. a week, is now substituted: the labourers are also found with provisions, which consist of about a pint and a half of rice, together with two or three ounces of meat a piece, each day. They are called to work by the blowing of a horn, which is heard through the small neighbouring towns in which they reside; and if they are on the spot, as they usually are, at the precise time expected which is that of sun rise, they are then accustomed to receive a small glass of rum, which it is intended however to commute into some trifling pecuniary allowance. They work under the immediate eye of one of the better sort of natives, while the planter directs their general operations, sees them often from his window, and walks occasionally amongst them. They go to their dinner (which is dressed for them in the manager's house, and is the only meal they take during their day's work) at eleven o'clock, and they return at one.

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They work till sun-set and then receive another small glass of spirits, but they drink water only at their meal. Their labour is thought equal to about two-thirds of a common day's work in this country, and it is tolerably steady, although they shew no great exertion in it. Above a year has now elapsed with little variation, either in the number of the labourers or in the regularity of their work, except in the instance of their absenting themselves for a few weeks at the approach of the rainy season, in order to work at the plantations about their own towns; and it is thought that means may be taken for preventing even this interruption for the future.

It is material to take some notice of the manner in which their wages are spent: when they have received their pay, which they always claim on the day after the appearance of the new moon, they send over to Free-town to *sell* the dollars as they term it; the articles taken in return are for the most part clothing or household utensils; for it does not appear that those gains which the natives acquire by regular industry, are commonly applied to any pernicious use. The labourers who work in the Company's plantation may now be distinguished from most of the other natives, by some additional articles in their dress; they wear a hat and a jacket, which the others in general do not; and they have trousers of a better quality, being evidently disposed

disposed to copy after the Europeans; though it is only a small part of their clothing, and still less of their household furniture and mode of living, that they have as yet adopted. They are taught to abstain from work on Sundays, when they attend a Nova Scotia preacher now resident among them, who acts also during the week as school-master to several native children.

The land which they put in cultivation the first year was not considerable, having been only about fifteen acres, of which, about twelve acres were planted with alternate rows of rice and cotton. A nursery of sugar canes has been also set on foot, and is, on the whole, advancing; but the ants (or bugabugs) have done much damage among them. It is supposed however that this obstacle to the growth of the sugar cane, will be removed, as soon as the roots of the trees which have been cut down shall have rotted away; since the ants are said to derive considerable support from them.

The Directors have the satisfaction of observing, that although some little differences may have occasionally arisen between the manager and the natives engaged with him, yet on the whole the Company's prospects have much improved in that part, and many proofs have been given of the great advances that may be made in Civilization, if the present object should be steadily pursued, and

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especially

especially if means should be found of considerably extending the same system.

It has lately been discovered, that several towns adjacent to the Company's plantation are very much increased, not only by the accession of those natives who work for the Company, but also of many others. It appears also that the natives are more disposed in general to migrate towards the sides of the river, which heretofore have been very little peopled : a sense of the security of their persons more and more prevails, and they are less averse to let the bush around their towns be cut down ; which, familiarised as they have been with the idea of being surprised and carried into slavery, they were accustomed always to speak of as a convenient shelter. The difficulty indeed of landing on the Bulam side of the river, by lessening the intercourse with Europeans, has caused a very visible difference in the character of the natives of that district : they are less violent and less addicted to liquor than their opposite neighbours, and they also live more by their industry. They are in general disposed to enter into the views of the government of Sierra Leone, and seem very little inclined to believe those slave-traders, who tell them that the Company has injurious designs against them ; and one of their chief men makes it his professed principle neither to sell nor to keep a slave. A second plantation appears now to be desired by them, and their King

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has lately ceded another square mile of land for that purpose.

The Directors have further to mention under the head of Cultivation on the Company's own account, a small garden of experiment in the neighbourhood of Freetown, which is under the care of an able botanist. A variety of native plants and seeds has been collected from time to time, which are cultivated there with great attention; and it is hoped that some future benefit, either to the Company or colony, as well as some useful accession of botanical knowledge, may result from the labours of this gentleman.* The Court of Directors have succeeded in obtaining several valuable articles of tropical cultivation, through his Majesty's permission, from the royal gardens at Kew, and particularly the bread-fruit tree, which will form a very important addition to the Company's collection.

In speaking of the cultivation that has taken place since the institution of the colony, through the labour that has been exerted by the Nova Scotians, or the natives on their own account, the Directors are not yet able to report any considerable progress. A great

* The Directors have introduced by way of Appendix, an account of the Natural Productions of Sierra Leone, furnished by Mr. Afzelius, their Botanist.

part of the attention and industry of the colonists has been applied to the building of the town, of which it may not be improper in this place to enter into some description.

It is situated on a dry and rather elevated spot, on the south-side of Sierra Leone river, and it occupies between seventy and eighty acres of land; its length being about one-third of a mile, and its breadth nearly the same. It contains near four hundred houses, each house having one-twelfth of an acre of ground annexed to it, on which a few vegetables are raised. The streets run, in general, from north-west to south-east, there being nine in this direction, and three cross streets; and they are eighty feet wide, one only excepted, which runs within fifty feet of the river side, and of which the width is one hundred and sixty feet. The public buildings are almost all placed in the broad street, and they consist of a church, situated near the middle of the town, which will accommodate about eight hundred people; the governor's house and offices; a large storehouse, under which as well as under the governor's house a brick store-cellar has been built; a large hospital; and six or eight other wooden houses, offices, and shops, occupied by the Company's servants: the frames of all the abovementioned buildings were sent out from England. Four canvas houses, or rather rooms, have been also furnished from hence, and one public building has been erected

erected of the common materials of the country, but this is already going to decay as well as the canvas houses; while all the other buildings, having been erected with care and framed of wood prepared in England, appear likely to last for some years.

The dwelling-houses of the settlers, which constitute the chief part of the town, were at first inferior even to the common huts of the natives, but are now far superior to them in every respect; a few of them have been repaired and enlarged, but the greater part have been pulled down (their general site having been changed by the government), and are now completely rebuilt. Indeed the first huts were intended by the Nova Scotians to be only temporary dwellings, and were made with very little trouble of the common materials of the country, consisting merely of a few posts let into the ground, the intervals between which were then wattled and plastered with clay, and the thatching was of long grass; the size of these may have been on the average about eighteen feet by twelve, and the value of the labour bestowed on each about forty shillings.

The present houses of the settlers are formed, both as to the sides and flooring (for they are all of them floored), of suitable timber cut and framed in the country, and they are secured from damp by being raised one or two feet from the ground by means of stones or blocks of wood: a number of them are

already covered with either boards or shingles, and it is intended to finish them all in this manner; but the greater part are thatched with grafs for the present. Only a very few of them have chimneys, but it is common nevertheless to burn a fire in one of the rooms during the rainy season, the smoke either finding its way through the thatching or passing out by the door and windows. The present houses are in general from twenty to thirty feet long, and from twelve to fifteen feet wide, and they are in most cases divided into two rooms. The average value of the whole labour bestowed on each, including the materials, may be estimated at about ten pounds.

Of the land immediately adjoining to the town, care has been taken to reserve a portion to the Company on every side. All this reserved land, without including any of the remote parts directly south, on which side the reserved land has no other boundary than that prescribed in the grant of land originally made by the natives, may be computed at about two hundred acres; part of which is the ground already spoken of that was intended for a cotton plantation, but is now occupied by the Nova Scotians. Only a small proportion of these two hundred acres is in actual cultivation, but the whole of it is cleared. The healthiness of the settlement has undoubtedly been much promoted by the early measures that were taken to clear this surrounding

furrounding district ; and the prudent reservation of it that has been made, may hereafter conduce to many important ends, and in particular it may afford the means of enlarging the town if there should be occasion.

The lots of land which have been given to the Nova Scotians lie towards the south-east of Freetown, all the western district being in the possession of the natives, and the southern side being thought too mountainous and difficult of access to be used at present for cultivation. The nearest of the lots is about a third of a mile from the town, and the most distant about two miles and a quarter ; they occupy in all about four square miles, or two thousand five hundred and sixty acres, and they are each of them now rendered accessible by a path of ten feet broad, which has been cut with great labour and expense : only a few lots however, which are situated near the town, have as yet been in any measure cleared or cultivated.

In order to excite a spirit of emulation in tilling the soil, premiums were given in the first year by the government to the settlers who raised the greatest quantity of the following articles, viz. rice, yams, plantains, eddows, cabbages, Indian corn, and cotton ; the whole amount of these premiums was about one hundred pounds. This measure appears to have had so good an effect, that there is an intention of repeating it in the second season, making a few variations in the

manner of executing it, which the experience of the first year has suggested.

Concerning the progress of Cultivation among the natives, it is hardly to be expected that there is much as yet to be reported to the Court: indeed the size of their plantations has commonly varied so exceedingly from year to year, that any appearance of increased industry among them, during a single season, ought not too confidently to be ascribed either to the new demand occasioned by the colonists of Sierra Leone, or to the Company's influence and example. The price of rice, the chief article of cultivation on the coast, has been at some times forty shillings per ton, and at others no less than twenty-five or even thirty pounds. This variation is owing partly no doubt to the difference in the seasons, but may reasonably be ascribed, in a very great degree, to the difficulty which the Africans find in forming any proper computation of the demand which is likely to arise for their produce; a plentiful year sometimes betraying them into a general neglect of their plantations, and a scarce year seldom failing, on the other hand, to produce a superfluous cultivation in the year immediately succeeding.

The establishment of a commercial factory on the coast, whose business it may be to form regular contracts with the natives, as well as to observe the general extent of the cultivation,

cultivation, and to make purchases with a view to the exportation of the surplus produce, may tend perhaps to excite a more regular industry, and to bring about, though at first slowly and imperceptibly, very important and extensive consequences.

CIVILIZATION.

UNDER this head of the Report, the Directors will introduce a considerable body of information. They will speak first of the mode of government exercised in the settlement; and they will then give the character of the settlers; they will afterwards enter upon the general subject of Civilization; in doing which they will describe the miserable state to which it appears, from the testimonies afforded at Sierra Leone, that the natives of Africa have been reduced, through their intercourse with Europeans; and the Directors will conclude with an account of the steps which have been taken by the Sierra Leone Company to introduce Christianity and Civilization among the Africans, of whose capacity and disposition to receive instruction some very satisfactory information will be given.

The Directors have as yet received no express powers from parliament for administering the government of Sierra Leone: they have considered, as they were bound to do, that the British constitution, as far as it is applicable to the circumstances of the place, is of course transferred thither, and that the blacks
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and whites living in the colony have an equal right to the privileges of British subjects.

Trial by Jury has been established, and the Nova Scotia blacks, though possessing very little knowledge of the British laws, have acted as jurymen, one of the Company's chief servants always presiding as the judge. The punishments inflicted have been mild, consisting rather in fines than in corporal punishment: the verdicts have been in general very just, and, on the whole, the Nova Scotians have served on the juries in a manner that sufficiently proves the propriety and prudence of extending to them a privilege which they so much value. It may be presumed also, that the gradual acquaintance with the principles of English law, which the Nova Scotians gain in the periodical sessions of the peace, may be of use in improving their minds, and may operate as a general help towards Civilization.

The defence of the colony from external enemies is necessarily entrusted to the body of Nova Scotians also. Their arms are always ready; and though their courage has not been put to any actual trial, since they came to Sierra Leone, yet their alacrity in coming forward in a moment of supposed danger, has been experienced on more than one occasion. Most of them indeed bore arms in the American war, and some have been practised in firing the guns, which have been mounted for the colony's defence.

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In order to introduce a system of internal police, every ten householders have been instructed to chuse annually a tithing-man, and every ten tithing-men a hundredor ; the last mentioned of whom are three in number, there being about three hundred householders in the colony. The hundredors are consulted by the Governor and Council, on such occasions as concern the general interests of the Nova Scotians.

The Directors are convinced, that in proceeding to form any plans of government, it will be necessary to consider the state of mind of those who are to be governed, and a variety of local circumstances. They have hitherto advised the Governor and Council to proceed gradually, taking experience as much as possible for their guide, and endeavouring to apply a remedy to every evil as it arose, rather than to form at once any considerable code of new local institutions.

The Directors wish to observe, that in thus touching briefly on the point of government, they have thought it sufficient to state the general principles which have been assumed, and the manner of trying offences and providing for the defence and police of the colony, which has been resorted to up to this period: they do not wish at present to offer any opinion on those measures, which it may be proper to give hereafter to this important subject.

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In proceeding to speak of the state of Religion and Morals within the settlement, it is only doing justice, to the Company's servants, in the first place, to remark, that their conduct in general has been sober, moral, and exemplary; and that the superior servants especially, in whom the chief power is vested, appear to have promoted the cause of Christianity and the practice of every moral duty, both by the manner in which they have exercised the public trust committed to them, and by their private influence and example. On the subject of the labors of the clergymen who went out from England, the Directors think it their duty to observe, that the colony has derived services highly important, in every view, from the gentlemen who filled this part of their establishment.

The Directors in speaking so favourably as they have done of the general morals of their own servants, must of course be understood to except all those of whom any thing that implies a contrary character has been mentioned in any part of this report; and they must also make an exception of a few others who have not been individually noticed. The persons in whom they have been the most disappointed, have been the lower overseers, of whom it was difficult to get any thorough knowledge at the time of engaging them, on account of their having resided in the West Indies: of the several individuals of this class that originally went out, none are now remaining

maining in the colony. The Court will not wonder, if in spite of all the care taken in the choice of the persons sent to Sierra Leone, a few instances should have occurred even of notorious immorality among so considerable a number. The Directors, however, have reason to think, that the proportion of their regular servants, who can be justly charged with any thing directly licentious and immoral, will be found to have been very small on the whole: and they have the satisfaction of saying, that a considerable decency of manners, and an unwillingness to disgrace the cause in which they are engaged, appears at this time to prevade their establishment.

Of the character of the Nova Scotia blacks, who may be said to constitute the colony, the Directors propose to give a very full description. Some degree of judgment may be formed concerning the state of morals among them, by adverting to the offences which have been brought to view at the periodical sessions of the peace. The highest crimes for which any prosecutions have yet taken place, have been adultery and petty theft; and more than one conviction for the former of these has occurred. From that class of vices which comes less under the cognizance of a public court, the Nova Scotians are in some respects remarkably free; marriage is extremely general among them, and all those evils which more particularly result from

from its being in difuse, are therefore in a great meafure avoided: drunkennefs is by no means common: fwearing is hardly ever heard: their attention to the fabbath is alfo great; they on that day abftain entirely from work, drefs themfelves in very good (and fome of them even in very gay) attire, and repair together with their children to church, where their deportment during the fervice, and their whole appearance are reprefented to be fuch as to form a very ftriking fpectacle.

It will appear from the above general description, that the Nova Scotians are evidently fuperior to the generality of people of the fame order in this country, in refpect to that particular clafs of morals which has been treated of; but this is certainly the moft favourable way of viewing them. It will be neceffary, in order to give a juft idea of their whole character, to enter rather largely into fome other points: and firft it may be proper to take notice of their religion, and then to dwell on fome of the peculiar difpofitions and prejudices of their minds, efpecially as they may refpect the Company: after which a retrospective view will be taken of their paft circumftances and condition.

On the firft of thefe heads it may be obferved, that the Nova Scotians are not only punctual, as has been already ftated, at their worship, but that many of them profefs alfo in other refpects much regard to religion. It
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is natural however to imagine, that among such a body of men, almost all of them claiming to be thought Christians, there will be some who have imbibed very inadequate or enthusiastic notions of Christianity; a few perhaps who set up hypocritical pretensions to it; while there may be many others who, notwithstanding some defect in their religious knowledge, may be consistent and sincere Christians. There are five or six black preachers among them, raised up from their own body, who are not without a considerable influence; and it supposed that the discipline which they preserve in their little congregations, has contributed materially to the maintenance of the general morals which have been spoken of.

The due regulation and command of their tempers, is one of those points in which the Directors must state that the Nova Scotians are (many of them at least) most eminently found to fail. They have appeared in many instances remarkably rash and hasty in their judgments, and vehement in all the dispositions of their mind. The violence which occasionally broke out at an early period of the settlement, was such as to give serious anxiety to the government; it shewed itself in vehement declamations made sometimes in the public streets, and in marked expressions of contumely rudely and publicly uttered against the Company's chief servants. Some symptoms of ambition appeared about
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the same time in one or two individuals, who had acquired a temporary popularity in the colony. The extreme violence which has been spoken of was ordinarily confined to a very few, but some degree of it occasionally extended itself to a greater number, and the more forward and assuming individuals then grew eager to dictate in the name of the whole body. This turbulence must certainly be mentioned as one of the chief circumstances of discredit to the character of the infant settlement. Although the Directors trust that so mischievous a spirit has now considerably subsided, they have nevertheless thought it proper to send out orders, that if there should still be any individuals who persist in complaining against the government, they should be desired to avail themselves of an opportunity which will be afforded them of returning back to Nova Scotia.

The unreasonableness of many of the settlers in estimating their own merits, and their very inadequate sense of those obligations which have been conferred on them by the Company, must be stated as another material circumstance to the prejudice of several of their characters. All this is combined indeed with the false and absurd notions, which the more forward among them have imbibed, concerning their rights as freemen, and the whole nature of their claims on the Company.

When the Governor and Council thought proper to dismiss one of the Nova Scotians
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from his work, on account of disrespectful conduct towards his superiors, a number of his comrades made a formal application to have it established as a law, that no Nova Scotia labourers working under the Company should ever be turned off in future, unless after a verdict given to that purpose by a jury of his peers. When the dispute ended concerning the quantity of the Company's own land to be reserved near the shore for public uses, some of the Nova Scotians in allowing at length that a certain portion of it should be so reserved, conceded the point by saying, that they would *oblige* the Company with the piece of land in question. The claims which they set up for an increase of wages, and for a reduction in the price of articles sold at the Company's store-house, have been already mentioned to the court, and their unreasonableness has in no instance appeared more strongly than in these applications; for their wages, at the time of their complaint, were no less than two shillings and six-pence a day; and the price of the goods sold to them was only such as to afford a clear profit, (after paying freight, interest of money, as well as prime cost and all other charges) of about ten per cent to the Company. It is worthy of remark also, that they usually prefer both the above mentioned and all their other claims, though matters of bargain between the two contracting parties, emphatically in their character of freemen.

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If an additional six-pence be not added to their wages, they declare that they shall then conceive themselves to be treated as slaves. If the governor be not dismissed for having ordered water to be mixed with the rum, before it was exposed to sale (which it has proved on enquiry that he did with no other purpose, than that of bringing it to the fair and proper proof), it is intimated in like manner that the whole colony is about to be reduced to slavery. Undoubtedly these expressions are used often in haste, are sometimes also retracted, and in whatever name they may be urged, should never be charged on the whole body. They afford a specimen however of the sort of reasonings with which the government abroad, has frequently had to combat, and they may tend to shew the propriety of the line of conduct adopted by the Directors, which has been that of endeavouring to compose the minds of the colonists, by giving a favourable impression of the Company's general disposition towards them, rather than attempting to satisfy them by reiterated and unreasonable concessions. The substance of their complaints, if they could be made good, would amount in effect to this ; that the Company gain too much money by their dealings with the settlers, and are profiting to an unreasonable degree at their expense ; for all the points in dispute have been required by them to be settled in some way that would turn out more favourably to

the Nova Scotians, and more unfavourably to the finances of the Company.

The Directors have stated in the foregoing account, that out of about two hundred and forty thousand pounds capital, above eighty thousand pounds have been already spent in establishing the colony; and, if the dead stock be included (as the greater part of it may), above one hundred thousand pounds. If the Company had proceeded entirely on those interested views which some of the Nova Scotians have been ready to ascribe to them, and had merely established a factory for their trade, the expenditure of a fourth or a fifth part of this sum would probably have been sufficient; and consequently about eighty thousand pounds (not to mention the expense paid by government in transporting the Nova Scotians) might have been saved. The bare statement of these facts sufficiently proves the unreasonableness of those Nova Scotians, who are always complaining of the illiberality of the Company. It is true that advantages possibly even outweighing all this expense, have accrued to the Company from their migration to Sierra Leone. These however have been advantages not gained by the Company as traders looking to their own profit, but as founders of the Sierra Leone Company, for the firm establishment of which they may reckon themselves chiefly indebted to the Nova Scotians. This sum of eighty thousand pounds, (which is a third part of the

the Company's whole capital) has therefore been the price paid for the civilization that is now begun in Africa: it has been sacrificed to that cause, which the Sierra Leone Company have considered as their own, the cause of Christianity and Freedom and Civilization among the race of Africans; to the cause more particularly of these Nova Scotians themselves and their posterity.

The jealousy and suspicion shewn by many of the Nova Scotians, especially in their intercourse with whites, is another circumstance that must be mentioned in some degree to their prejudice. They have all professed indeed to entertain the most favourable opinion of the intentions and principles of the Directors, who therefore hope that they will be disposed to a ready acquiescence in the decisions of the Court, whenever they may be made known to them. Few however of the servants sent out have escaped their share of harsh and unreasonable suspicion: but though this unpleasant disposition must be mentioned, as forming one material feature in the character of the settlers, yet great allowance for it will undoubtedly be made, if due consideration be had of the various sufferings which some of them have undergone, and the very unequal measure of justice which they have formerly received, and are now habituated to expect, at the hand of whites.

In estimating indeed the whole character that has been given of the Nova Scotians, the peculiar circumstances of their past lives ought not to be forgotten, and this therefore is a subject to which it is material to draw for a while the attention of the Court.

It should be remembered that the men whom the Directors have been describing, were all of them at one time slaves; that in that period of their lives, when they were abridged of their liberty, they probably, like others in their condition, were but little restrained in respect to many branches of morals, that marriage was not then instituted among them, that the want of parental care and instruction was not at all supplied by any institution of schools, and that no one, in short, then considered it as his duty to inculcate any kind of religious or moral principles among them. It should be considered also, how much they must, at the same time, have been degraded in respect to the faculties of their minds, how small their opportunities of knowledge were, how little inducement they had to cultivate their talents, or to exert their understandings. They felt undoubtedly a strong sense of the peculiar hardships under which they laboured, but it is probable they were little acquainted with the true nature of civil rights, or accustomed to think accurately about them: on the contrary, they may very naturally be supposed to have often confounded the unavoidable hardships of life, and the punishments

punishments needful in society, with all those other ills which a principle of arbitrary power imposes, and which it can signify little to those who are involved in a state of hopeless captivity particularly to discriminate. It is to some want of discrimination and remaining ignorance in this respect, that much of that unreasonableness of the Nova Scotians which has been described, and that some of the absurdities of those particular claims which have been specified, may obviously be traced, and not to any original fault in their moral character more than in that of other men, nor to any natural inferiority in their understanding. And when it is considered how often the advocates for a system of servitude have, on their part, confounded both slavery itself and all the enormities attending it, with the necessary evils of human life, and the institutions that are requisite in civil society, it surely need not excite surprise if emancipated slaves should be subject to a like confusion of ideas, and should seem, in the same manner, to labour under some dulness and inaccuracy of understanding, when acting under the bias of self-interest.

It seems proper to observe, in addition to what has been already said on the original condition of the Nova Scotians, that the Directors are not without reason for supposing the state of their servitude to have been more harsh than the American servitude is in general; for it should be noticed, that they form

a portion of those slaves who, during the American war, ran away from their masters and took refuge in the king's army ; which it seems natural to imagine that those would in general be the most disposed to do, whose situation was the most hard and uncomfortable. Indeed if this presumption of their ill treatment, arising from the manner of their emancipation (which is increased by the account that a few of them recite of their extraordinary sufferings), should be thought unfair, and should appear to derogate too much from the supposed mildness and humanity of American masters, it seems then to follow, on the other hand, that they were those slaves who were the least sensible of the mild treatment they received, who were the least attached to the persons of their masters, and the most prone to be discontented with their condition. On either of these suppositions, the Nova Scotians may be said to furnish a less favourable specimen of the character to be expected in emancipated slaves, than may be commonly hoped for in other cases. It can hardly be necessary to observe, how extremely unfavourable the circumstances through which they have passed into a state of freedom will appear, if their case should be compared with that of slaves, who might be emancipated on a prudent principle of discrimination ; to whom liberty having been first held out in prospect, in order to prepare them for it, might be granted after a certain period

period of service, as the professed reward of industry and merit ; or might perhaps be communicated by degrees, as local or other circumstances might make advisable, privilege after privilege being added, in proportion as their diligence should advance, as their property should accumulate, and their personal interest in the maintenance and well-being of society should increase.

But to resume the subject which occasioned this short digression—the Nova Scotia blacks having been born in North America, of African parents or progenitors (a few only excepted who were imported Africans, and were chiefly kidnapped as they say in their infancy), having passed the principal part of their lives in a state of slavery that was probably worse than ordinary, and having then emancipated themselves in the manner that has been mentioned, they fulfilled on their part the conditions required of them in the proclamations issued by the British commanders, having been of the number of loyalists who joined the standard of Great Britain. Whatever education or instruction any of them have received, appears to have been chiefly got since the æra of their emancipation. A few of them with a part of their earnings put themselves to school, with the view either of increasing their religious knowledge, or of laying the ground for some future improvement in their condition ; and these are now the preachers and school-masters of the Sierra Leone colony. After
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passing through various scenes, for the most part living among the British soldiers, and following the common fortune of the army; not unfrequently exposing themselves in battle, as the wounds of several will testify, and getting credit always for their courage, but not so uniformly for all the other parts of their character; their numbers being now considerably reduced by the death of some and the dispersion of others (a portion of them being supposed to have again fallen into the hands of the Americans); the remainder were brought to Nova Scotia at the end of the war, in order to receive, in common with the white loyalists, certain allowances of provisions and portions of land, in pursuance of the promises made to them in those proclamations, which have been already alluded to. They state that they obtained the rations of provisions, though not to the full extent of their expectations; that instead of the promised lots of land, they got in general only a small town-lot of little value, the white loyalists having engrossed all the ground that was valuable; and that they were further disappointed in not finding themselves admitted to the usual privileges of British subjects, and in particular to the right of trial by jury. It has been already noticed, that their sense of these injuries, together with their experience of the unfavourableness of the climate of Nova Scotia, induced them to seek redress from the British government, by means of a delegate from

from their own body, whom they sent to England for that purpose.

When Mr. Clarkson appeared as the Company's agent in Nova Scotia, and stated at several public meetings of the free blacks, the proposals held out to them by the Company, together with the liberal offer of a free passage to Sierra Leone made by the British government, they expressed at once the most lively joy and exultation; they congratulated themselves on being now about to be emancipated from a situation which they had almost considered as a second servitude, both on account of the specific hardships already stated, and the general disrepute and inequality of treatment which had followed them into the British colony, in which they had attempted to incorporate themselves. The eagerness of their desire to migrate, is said by Mr. Clarkson, to have rendered him so much the more careful in guarding them against the indulgence of all unreasonable expectations. No allowance even of provisions after their arrival was held out to them, and the necessity of working on their lots of land, in order to get their livelihood, was urged upon them universally. But their ardour was not at all repressed by these or any similar suggestions; they sold hastily and without regret, at the most inadequate prices, such of their little effects as could not easily be carried away with them: a few of those who were possessed of property assisted others who were
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in debt, to satisfy such claims as might have prevented their migration; and several who were the heads of families, are said to have undertaken, for the support of the younger and more unprotected females, to whom no passage was granted except on this condition. The whole body waited several weeks in tents at Halifax, for the collection of the shipping, during which time they were exposed to much inclemency of weather, and contracted a considerable degree of sickness: they set sail in the beginning of January, 1792, having readily adopted every measure that was suggested to them for the maintenance of exact order during the voyage, and having thus far uniformly testified both their gratitude and obedience to Mr. Clarkson and to the Company,

Their conduct since this period has been already sufficiently described, and the Directors think that when it is considered in connection with all those circumstances of their past lives which have now been also mentioned, although some of the pleasing expectations which were excited by a few first appearances may have been disappointed, their character may fairly be said to turn out as favourably on the whole as could reasonably be expected. It should be noticed indeed, that among these emancipated slaves, there have not been wanting instances of a few, at least, who have afforded a most favourable specimen of the African character,

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on whose general dispositions Christianity appears to have had a most benign and happy influence, and who have shewn themselves on all occasions humble and contented, the friends of order, and the zealous promoters of peace.

Let it therefore be carefully remembered on the one hand, that every thing which has been said in disparagement of the Nova Scotians, is to be understood with some exceptions, and with various degrees of limitation: let it also be considered, on the other, how great and various have been the disadvantages under which all of them have laboured; and it will then no doubt appear, that the turbulence of some, the unreasonableness as well as jealousy of many more, and all the other unfavourable circumstances in their character, are more or less to be looked for in any body of men who have been in their condition. They are faults incident to them most unquestionably, not as blacks, but they may be traced to our common nature. And who is there who will venture to say, that if he had entered into life also under similar disadvantages, and had struggled under a like succession of vexations, hardships, and disappointments, his mind would not have contracted any of the same prejudices, nor his character have been marked by any of those untoward dispositions, which belong to some of the present colonists of Sierra Leone?

It has been already noticed that the Governor
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nor and Council are endeavouring, in compliance with the wishes of the Directors, to expedite as much as possible the settling of them on their own lands ; by the cultivation of which there is reason to think that they, like the former settlers now living at Granville Town, may be able to get a comfortable subsistence : and if, by the blessing of Providence on their industry, they should find their substance accumulate and their general prosperity advance, their families at the same time continuing to increase, it can hardly be doubted that they will thus gradually be brought to estimate more justly their obligations to the Company. It is important however to observe that, both with a view to their own happiness and to the Company's great object of extending civilization in Africa, it is of the highest consequence that they should neither be left without instructors from hence, nor without a government consisting of Europeans.

Their children, who were about three hundred in number, are universally sent to school, and are reported to advance quite as fast in their learning as children commonly do in this country ; although they were not supplied till lately with very suitable and sufficient English masters. The Directors propose to spare no pains or expense that may be necessary in order to maintain this part of their establishment on the best footing, and they will continue to direct the peculiar at-

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tention of the Governor and Council to so very important an object ; for it is to this rising generation of well-educated blacks, that the Directors chiefly look, for the gradual improvement of the internal state of the colony ; and to them also it seems by no means presumptuous to hope, that some of the more distant and even of the interior parts of Africa, may one day possibly be indebted for the introduction of Christianity, for the propogation of European knowledge, and some important attainments in civilization. .

The progress made in the extension of civilization among the natives, together with the difficulties which have occurred, and the opening prospects in this respect which have been afforded, are the only part of the present general head that remains to be treated of. This however is a matter of such great importance, and of so very interesting a nature also, that the Directors are persuaded they need offer no apology for entering into it at some length, and for laying before the Court such actual information as they have received upon it, with freedom as well as particularity.

It must be obvious to the Proprietors that, in treating of the Civilization of Africa, the nature and tendency of the present African Slave Trade, come directly and necessarily under consideration. The Directors however in speaking of the Slave Trade, do not propose to deal in observations and arguments
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raised by themselves at home on this beaten topic; conceiving that they shall do more exact as well as ample justice to the subject, by resorting to a simple narrative of what has been passing under the view of their servants abroad, and by enumerating a few strong but authentic facts, which it will not be necessary to preface with much introduction.

They will describe first, the deplorable state to which the district around Sierra Leone, previous to the formation of the colony, had been reduced, through its intercourse with Europeans; an intercourse carried on up to that time, chiefly, if not exclusively, for the purpose of procuring slaves.—In the second place, they will state a number of more recent facts, some of them exhibiting the nature of the present Slave Trade, and the obstruction which it has actually given to the Company's attempts to promote Civilization.

In speaking of the first of these points, namely, the situation to which the long prevalence of the Slave Trade had reduced the country round Sierra Leone, the Directors cannot forbear briefly recapitulating a few facts which were recited in a former report made to the General Court, which was held nearly at the time of instituting the colony.

As a proof of the insecurity of the persons of the natives, it was then stated, that even the king of the country himself, though peaceable and more than ordinarily respected, had
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In no less than three separate instances been bereft of some relations of his own, through the various enormities of the Slave Trade. In a letter sent by him to England, wherein he refers to one only of these three calamities, he says: " There are three distant relations " of mine now in the West Indies, carried " away by one Captain Cox, captain of a " Danish ship, Corpro, Banna, and Morbour : " these were taken out of my river Sierra " Leone. I know not how to get them " back." And he states his reason for encouraging the intended Sierra Leone settlement so warmly as he did in spite of all insinuations to its prejudice, to be " In order " that there might be a stop put to the horrid " depredations that are often committed in " this country by all countries that come " here to trade." The substance of this letter, which appears to have been written by the hand of a secretary to the king, who had received some education in England, was afterwards confirmed by the king's son.

A few other specific proofs of the prevalence of kidnapping were cited in that report, and one instance of the capture of a straggling native by a party of kidnappers was given, of which the agent of the Sierra Leone Company, as well as another person then in England, had ocular demonstration.

But the circumstance to which the Directors wish more particularly to draw the attention of the Proprietors, is the mention
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that was then made of several depopulated towns along the sea coast (two of which the Company's agent had visited), all of them said to have been broken up by a mulatto slave-trader residing to the south of Sierra Leone; who having had the advantage of other chiefs through the education he received in his youth at Liverpool, acquired a very superior degree of power and influence, which it appears from abundant testimonies that he very freely exercised.

In pursuing the description of the effects produced by the Slave Trade in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, the Directors will quote, first, some authentic evidences confirming and enlarging the account of ravages committed towards the south, by the mulatto slave-trader abovementioned: they will then produce some evidence of its nature, brought from no great distance northwards of the settlement; to which will be added the information of several very competent witnesses from the east or interior country: a few additional facts of different kinds, some of them furnished at Sierra Leone itself, will form the remaining evidence of that deplorable situation to which Sierra Leone and its adjoining district had been reduced, previous to the formation of the present colony.

The Directors wish to observe, once for all, that the truth and accuracy of the information they are about to lay before the Court

Court have been in general established by the united testimony of some of the principal servants of the Company; and that all that part of it which will be given as quotation, was committed to writing by one of them always about the time and generally on the very day, often at the very hour, of its being received.*

On the subject of the mulatto trader who is said to have depopulated the towns which are seen standing to the *south* of Sierra Leone, and who is now no more, his death having been brought about, as it is supposed, by some of the natives, the following information has been received :

After some intelligence nearly to the same purport, obtained from another quarter, it is observed :

“ ——— March 1793. A slave-trader of
 “ the name of ———, has also been men-
 “ tioning the devastations of the late mulatto
 “ trader, as a thing which consisted with
 “ his knowledge; he says, that his plan
 “ was to lend goods to every inferior chief,

* The Directors, for obvious reasons, do not think proper to insert in this printed report the names of all the persons or places that may be spoken of in the journal, and other documents, from which they shall make their quotations; and they shall therefore describe them in general by some circumlocution: they shall use a few other trifling liberties with the language, chiefly for the sake of elucidation, taking care, however, in no instance to alter any word that is material.

“ or head-man, who thought proper to re-
 “ quest them, and if the head-man was slow
 “ in fulfilling his engagements, that he
 “ would then arm two or three hundred of
 “ his grumettas (or working people) who
 “ being officered by white men, deserters
 “ from the ships, were sent to surprise the
 “ towns of his debtor. In this way had he
 “ depopulated the whole country from Cape
 “ Sierra Leone to the river Sherbro. In
 “ order to save himself from the effects of
 “ the general indignation raised against him,
 he formed a purrah (or confederacy), by
 “ which he united the kings and principal
 “ chiefs (all of whom were deeply engaged
 “ in the Slave Trade), in an agreement to
 “ defend each other.”

“ ——— A native chief informed me,
 “ that a considerable town in which he used
 “ to live, was attacked by this mulatto trader,
 “ who was on that occasion aided by some
 “ of the other chiefs, and also by an Ameri-
 “ can vessel then waiting for slaves; that
 “ after a stout resistance his town was taken
 “ and destroyed; that himself however and
 “ the greater part of his people effected their
 “ escape to a small neighbouring island,
 “ whence they used to make occasional in-
 “ cursions on their enemy upon the main
 “ land: he mentioned his having taken forty
 “ prisoners in one of these expeditions, all
 “ of whom were sold as slaves.”

A principal servant of the Company, when
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on a visit to these parts, adds the following information : “ A slave of this mulatto chief
 “ was set up by him as administrator of
 “ justice in his own district, who is now
 “ reckoned a person of great importance,
 “ and is become too powerful to be thwart-
 “ ed ; much court is paid to him by the
 “ slave-traders. It is said that terrible cruel-
 “ ties are practised by him, and that accu-
 “ sations are multiplied. A native chief of
 “ a neighbouring village who was with us
 “ on board the cutter, being asked to go
 “ with us on shore, declined it with a strong
 “ expression of indignation and hatred against
 “ this person, apprehending, as it appeared,
 “ that if he came within his reach he should
 “ scarcely escape him. — In proceeding
 “ along the river, we observed a number of
 “ creeks, the entrance of which is too nar-
 “ row for more than one canoe to pass at a
 “ time : at the head of most of these creeks
 “ there are towns. These retired places of
 “ residence were chosen in the time of the
 “ mulatto slave-trader, on the ground of
 “ their affording opportunity to effect an
 “ escape, in case of alarm, before the at-
 “ tack could be made. One of the sub-
 “ ordinate chiefs, at whose town we landed,
 “ confessed that this had been his motive for
 “ choosing so difficult a spot as that on which
 “ he had pitched himself.” Some further
 mention of this eminent slave-trader will
 occur in the sequel, and the Proprietors will

then be again reminded of the various traces of his ravages which have here been spoken of.

In proceeding to notice the effects of the Slave Trade towards the *north*, the Directors have to observe, that the two countries nearest to the Sierra Leone (or Timmany) district, on that side, are the Mandingo and the Sufee countries. They will introduce some information from each of these. The Foulah country, which will be mentioned also, is still farther off.

“ ——— November. Two chiefs from
 “ the nearest towns to Freetown dined with
 “ me: they both allowed the frequency of
 “ kidnapping among the Sufees and Mandingoes; one of them had been an eye
 “ witness to it. As to the Foulahs, he says
 “ it is universally acknowledged that they
 “ make war for the sole purpose of procuring slaves. He says it often happens
 “ that a company of Foulahs, having brought
 “ slaves to market, is attacked by a party of
 “ Freebooters, who infest the country between the coast and the Foulah country,
 “ and who both rob people of their goods
 “ and make slaves of them to boot, so that
 “ it is not unusual for the same man who
 “ sold others as slaves, to be sold in a few
 “ weeks afterwards to the same slave-factory
 “ himself.”

The following intelligence is from the
 Mandingo,

Mandingo, which is immediately north of the Sierra Leone country.

“ ——— November. A trader from the
 “ Sufee country related the following anecdote, of which he himself had been a witness. Two or three years ago, the chief
 “ of Quiaport river, in the Sufee country, attacked the chief of Bowrah, and made
 “ prisoners of some of his people, whom he sold to the British slave-factory to the
 “ north of Sierra Leone. The chief who
 “ had been attacked collected all his force, defeated the other chief, and made a great
 “ many of his people prisoners ; with these
 “ he went and redeemed his own people from the slave-factory, who obliged him
 “ however to pay two for one.”

“ February 1794. A mulatto lady, mistress of a large town in the Mandingo
 “ country, who possesses considerable intelligence, called on us in the evening, and
 “ staid in the settlement two or three nights. She has been to England in her youth,
 “ and her English name is Miss B. Heard. We talked much about the Slave Trade ;
 “ she said she disliked it, for it kept her in constant terror, since she never knew when
 “ she lay down at night, whether she might not be assassinated before the morning.
 “ She said that for some time past there had been no wars in the interior country to
 “ hers, and acknowledged that the wars do

“ not happen when there is no demand for
 “ slaves.”

The Directors will add one more quotation on the subject of the northern district :

“ In the Mandingo and Sufee countries,
 “ which lie between the river Sierra Leone
 “ and the Rio-Pongas, kidnapping is very
 “ frequent ; nor is this done by the strangers
 “ alone. It often happens that children are
 “ kidnapped by people of a neighbouring or
 “ even of the same village.”——“ A person
 “ who has resided several years in the Man-
 “ dingo country, told me that mothers, in
 “ that part, never fail to collect their
 “ children together with great care as night
 “ comes on, and either shut them up or
 “ endeavour to keep them within their
 “ eye till morning.—It is stipulated in
 “ these parts between the slave-trader and
 “ the kidnappers, that none of the natives
 “ around shall be admitted to a sight of the
 “ slaves, who are usually conveyed away by
 “ the craft in the night, the barter of them
 “ having been made in the night time also.
 “ I have conversed with many natives as
 “ well as traders on this subject, and they
 “ have every one of them confirmed the
 “ above account. A principal factor, from
 “ whom I inquired the reason of the great
 “ frequency of kidnapping among the Man-
 “ dingo, observed that it arose from their
 “ head-men getting into debt to the Eu-
 “ ropeans, and being then put into confine-
 “ ment

“ ment by them ; in consequence of which
 “ the people belonging to these head-men
 “ were laid under an obligation to kidnap
 “ some person, in order to effect their re-
 “ demption.”

The following information respects that part of the interior or *eastern* country which is not far distant from Freetown, and is subject to the King of Sierra Leone.

“ A chief residing in one of the upper
 “ branches of the Sierra Leone river. whose
 “ character is considered as respectable, has
 “ been with us : the following is the sub-
 “ stance of his information with respect to
 “ the Sierra Leone trade. The people in-
 “ land, he says, are used to go to war on
 “ purpose to make slaves : at present, there
 “ being no great demand, they do not make
 “ war. White people often encourage pa-
 “ lavers (or quarrels), promising dashes (or
 “ presents of liquor) in case the convicts
 “ are sold to them. They were in the prac-
 “ tice also of fomenting war, by giving am-
 “ munition to both parties ; this used for-
 “ merly to happen very frequently, of which
 “ he specified two instances.. He told me
 “ that he was himself engaged in a war
 “ which lasted five years, when a British
 “ slave-trader furnished both him and his
 “ enemies with powder ; that he used then
 “ often to waylay and sell strangers, in order
 “ to buy arms and ammunition ; but he says
 “ this was ‘ *a bad thing*,’ and justified only
 “ by

“ by the necessity he was under of finding
 “ means to defend himself: had there been
 “ no slave-factories he would not have done
 “ so. The slave-traders have acted differently
 “ of late years; for the inhabitants of his
 “ country being much diminished in their
 “ numbers, and the wars among them very
 “ much interrupting the intercourse with the
 “ remoter parts, the slave-factors have used
 “ their influence to settle all differences, and
 “ to secure to the people further inland a
 “ free passage to the river’s mouth. For
 “ some years past there have been no wars
 “ in his part, but almost all the slaves sold
 “ there have been brought down from the
 “ country further up.”

“ The same chief mentioned that it was
 “ not uncommon for head-men, when they
 “ wanted goods from the slave-factories, to
 “ give a hint to their wives to encourage
 “ some of the natives to commit adultery,
 “ who if they fell into the snare, were then
 “ sold to the slave-factory on the accusation
 “ of these women.”

“ Two native slave-traders who possess a
 “ considerable share of intelligence, have
 “ been with us. They informed us that
 “ kidnapping was a general practice ‘ among
 “ the bush-men;’ by which they mean those
 “ who live in the interior: that it was no
 “ unusual thing for the inhabitants of the
 “ coast to travel back into the country, and
 “ lie in wait in the woods for any straggling
 “ people.

“ people. They said, that almost all the
 “ slaves brought from a distance, were taken
 “ either by force or fraud.”

After so many various and independent proofs of the nature of the Slave Trade, and of that horrible desolation which it has spread on every side, it cannot be very necessary to bring forward any additional and individual facts in order to furnish further testimony of the same kind. The following story happens, however, to afford an instance of the practice of kidnapping at Sierra Leone, of too interesting a nature to be omitted.

The Proprietors may recollect that of the Nova Scotians who have migrated to Sierra Leone, it has been observed that some were originally inhabitants of Africa, and that a great proportion of these were, according to their own account, kidnapped in their infancy. It has been found that three of their number were furnished from parts not very far distant from Sierra Leone; one of these three was taken from Sierra Leone itself, as he used to mention when sailing thither on his return. When he landed, he found himself nearly on the spot from whence he had been carried off, and pointed to a particular part of the beach, where, as he relates, a woman laid hold on him, he being then a boy, and sold him to an American slave-ship in the river. The interval of his absence had been about fifteen years. He recollected the way to his native town, which
 was

was only two or three miles distant, but he felt, for a time at least, so great a dread of parting, from the body of his companions, that he delayed making an expedition thither.

A number of Nova Scotians, of whom this man was one, were standing together among their tents, not long after their arrival, when a body of natives, led by curiosity, came down to see the settlement. An elderly woman of the party was observed by some of the settlers to have her attention arrested, and very peculiar emotions excited whenever she could obtain a view of the face of this Nova Scotian : she was heard to utter some words in her native tongue to her companions with much agitation, and at length fully recognizing his countenance, she ran up to him and embraced him : she proved to be his own mother. It was learnt on inquiry that his father was now dead : the parents had never been able to discover the smallest trace of their child, whom they had given up for lost ; nor does it appear indeed that any means of discovery were afforded them. The woman who stole him remains altogether unknown, and the impunity of the captain of the slave-ship, even if he were known, is but too obvious : nor is it not to be supposed, that even if the kidnapper had been known by the child that was kidnapped, the redemption of the child from slavery, and the consequent punishment of the kidnapper, would have been at all forwarded. Having

once secured her prey and committed it to the hold of a slave-ship, no discovery seems after that time to have been possible: she had nothing further to fear, unless indeed such a number of extraordinary events should concur, as that of the child's emancipating himself, in the first place, by running away at the peril of his life from his master, that of his returning then to the very spot in Africa from whence he had been taken, and lastly that of his finding out and seizing and giving evidence against and convicting, the person who had sold him into slavery. In the present instance, though so very remarkable a one, only a part of these circumstances are found. The Directors cannot forbear observing that this incident affords an illustration of the nature of the Slave Trade, which applies equally to the case of slaves kidnapped on the coast and of those taken further inland.

Having shewn how Sierra Leone has had her towns laid waste, and her inhabitants occasionally carried off through the various enormities of the Slave Trade, on the other hand it may be noticed, that her mountains have gained an occasional accession of inhabitants through the same unnatural traffic; an accession indeed, as the subsequent account will shew, of a few forlorn and miserable beings, whom the Slave Trade has taught to take refuge in her heights, and to dread the very sight of their fellow-creatures.

“ About

“ About five or six years ago, a Danish
 “ vessel lying at anchor in the mouth of
 “ Sierra Leone river, was cut off by the
 “ slaves : the head-man of the neighbouring
 “ shore on which they landed, happening to
 “ favour their escape, they made their way
 “ to the mountains, and there they built
 “ themselves a town, at the supposed distance
 “ of four or five miles from Freetown, in
 “ which they still reside. Their jealousy of
 “ strangers is however said to be such, that
 “ they do not permit them to approach, and
 “ that they even watch the avenues of their
 “ retreat.” Such is the substance of the in-
 telligence on this subject obtained from the
 son of a considerable chief, to whom the
 Company are indebted for several other pieces
 of information which have been quoted.

The Directors learn from some very recent
 accounts, that in consequence of the above in-
 timation, two servants of the Company have
 made an expedition to the place of residence
 of these people, which is termed the Deserter's
 Town. They succeeded in getting into the
 town without any particular molestation, and
 they have authenticated the chief facts which
 have been stated. They learnt also, that
 when this body of runaway slaves first estab-
 lished themselves on the mountains, they
 were about one hundred in number, but that
 they are now reduced to about eighty, partly
 by deaths and partly also by kidnapping.

Another distressful story resulting out of
 this

this event remains to be added. It appears that a complaint was preferred against the head man who favoured the escape of these slaves, and the great mulatto trader already spoken of is said to have been the person before whom the question was tried. It is commonly supposed that the complainant took the precaution of selling his chance of forfeiture for a moderate sum to the judge, before the trial came on : certain it is that the judgment given was, that the head-man with all his generation (that is, all the people living in his town) should be sold for slaves ; and as many of these as could be caught were sold accordingly. The head-man indeed was spared, after having been some time a prisoner, and lives at present not far from Freetown.

The Directors have now concluded that part of their information which applies to the period antecedent to the formation of the colony. They will next proceed to the relation of a number of events of a more recent date ; and they will shew first, by a variety of facts, what those sources have been from which the Slave Trade has been supplied during the last two years, so far as respects the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. The various evils interwoven in the trade, the private misery which it has caused, the drunkenness it has introduced, and the scenes of blood to which it has occasionally given rise, will
all

all appear in the further progress of this detail.

The first quotation that will be given, affords an instance of one of the less atrocious modes of reducing people to slavery in Africa, and recites a conversation with a slave-captain of the better sort.

“ February 1793. A native of some consequence applied to the governor for his assistance in getting his daughter redeemed, who had just been seized by a person to whom the native owed some money, and sold to a slave-ship lying off Freetown. The governor in consequence went to the slave-captain, and made him an offer either of goods or money, as the price of her redemption; but the slave-captain refused to take either the one or the other, observing that slaves were now difficult to be got, and must not easily be parted with. He said, that since the girl seemed to be a favourite, he ought, if he gave her up, to have by rights two slaves in return; but that he would consent, however, as a compliment to the governor, to let her be taken back, in consideration of her being replaced by one prime slave. He added, that the father of the girl had been on board of his ship the same morning, in order to see his child, that he was present at the interview, and that he had been much affected at the concern shewn on both sides; but he remarked again that

“ slaves

“ slaves were scarce. The governor, under
 “ all the circumstances of the case, could not
 “ interfere any farther. The father went off
 “ however in quest of a slave, which he
 “ seems not to have been able easily to pro-
 “ cure ; for he did not return till a very long
 “ time after, when the ship was gone.”

The two following stories furnish two nearly similar instances of the mode in which the chiefs decide in supposed cases of adultery between their wives and the inferior natives : the former case, in which the proceeding is more mild, describes the conduct of an African chief ; the latter, in which the justice was more summary, that of an European chief who has put on African manners.

— “ A native was brought to me by
 “ one of our school-masters, who implored
 “ our protection, having just escaped from
 “ the hands of the chief of the nearest town
 “ to us, who, as he said, had put him into
 “ confinement and threatened to sell him,
 “ on a charge of adultery with one of his
 “ wives, unless he would pay down a certain
 “ sum, which it was out of his power to
 “ command : the man cursed the slave-factory
 “ as the cause of all his misery, and declared
 “ himself innocent of the charge.” The
 principal point here to be noticed is, that
 the chief, or head-man, who threatened to
 sell the native, acted in this case by his own
 single authority, and, like several other chiefs
 who will be mentioned, seems not to have
 H been

been amenable to any superior on account of the judgment he might give in this or any similar cause, between himself and the people of the town belonging to him.

The case between the native and the European is as follows:—"A native of Sierra Leone who has lived a great many years as a grumetta, or free labourer, at a neighbouring European slave-factory, has been sold on the ground of his having committed adultery with one of the European slave-factor's wives. The European slave-factor sold him to a slave-ship, avowing this to be his reason, without even the form of a trial." Five white men, and a variety of natives also, are mentioned as competent witnesses of this circumstance, to which some further reference will be made hereafter.

A striking specimen of African justice is afforded by the following short and apparently well authenticated story.

— "On one of the rivers nearest to us, there is a town, where a king or chief resides, and where an European also lives who keeps a slave-factory. The king having got drunk one day, talked of flogging the slave-factor: the people of the king were accordingly proceeding to do it, and would have actually fulfilled their intention, if the slave-factor had not escaped to his own house and barricaded it. When the king grew sober the slave-factor demanded satisfaction; upon which the king,

" in

“ in order to conciliate him after what had
 “ passed, sold him two of his people.”

The subsequent quotation furnishes some strong evidence of the very general drunkenness which has been introduced among the chiefs and men of influence on the coast: the natural alliance subsisting between drunkenness and the Slave-Trade, and their mutual influence on each other, will here also be again exhibited.

— “ Six or seven of the native chiefs,
 “ from all the nearest towns, came to renew
 “ their applications for rum: their perseverance is astonishing. By way of forcing
 “ us into a compliance with their request,
 “ one of them observed, that if we would
 “ not give him liquor he should apply to
 “ the slave-factory, and should take his brother thither for a pawn. However, even
 “ this had no effect; the Governor continued
 “ firm, and at the same time endeavoured to
 “ explain to them the motives of his refusal.
 “ They then said that there was no palaver
 “ (that is, no cause of quarrel) but they were
 “ evidently chagrined. Having however
 “ partaken of our dinner, they were brought
 “ into tolerable humour, and I am in hopes
 “ that these applications for rum will at
 “ length cease.”

The following accounts are given, as to the substance of them, precisely as they are related to the Directors, in whose opinion they are too important to be withheld.

— “ I must mention some proceedings
 “ of a British commander in this part, that
 “ seem to me of a most nefarious nature.
 “ A number of black mariners had been
 “ hired to assist in navigating some French
 “ ships trading on this coast : six of the ships
 “ have been captured, and the black sailors
 “ found on board, amounting to nineteen in
 “ number, though they were free men, and
 “ receiving wages, have been all sold for slaves,
 “ one mulatto child only excepted. It is
 “ painful to witness such horrid acts of in-
 “ justice. Why are not the French seamen
 “ put up to auction in the same ignominious
 “ manner? Or why is this difference be-
 “ tween black men and white? The cap-
 “ tured French sailors were at war with us,
 “ and they are not sold; but the blacks are
 “ all sent to the slave-factory and sold at
 “ public auction, together with the goods
 “ that formed the cargo: one or two of
 “ them were free men of this neighbourhood,
 “ and some of them were not only free, but
 “ they are the sons of chiefs; one of them
 “ son of the king of Sallum. It is true the
 “ British slave-factor who bought them, was
 “ so good as to say that he would forbear to
 “ send them off the country, so that their
 “ friends might redeem them whensoever
 “ they thought fit to send other slaves in
 “ their room. I am disposed to believe his
 “ professions, but at the same time it is
 “ dreadful to think of the contempt that is
 “ here

“ here shewn to justice. I would not allow
 “ myself at first to believe what I heard on
 “ this subject ; but I saw them knocked down
 “ myself, at the price of about twenty pounds
 “ a piece.”

—— “ Another French ship has been made
 “ a prize (by a different captor), and three
 “ or four free natives found on board have
 “ been sold to the neighbouring slave-factory.
 “ We remonstrated with the captain who
 “ took her, on the impropriety of selling free
 “ people. He admitted it, but said he must
 “ receive some money for their ransom, or
 “ he could not think of parting with them.
 “ We upon this offered him money, but he
 “ then said No, he must have slaves in their
 “ place, as he was in want of slaves, and
 “ that they must be four feet four inches
 “ high.”

Another instance is mentioned of the sale of several free women, who were found on board a French ship that was captured, having having been left there as pledges. The captain of the British privateer who took the ship was formerly a slave-trader.

The free Africans sold by the several captors of the above mentioned French vessels, were most of them eventually redeemed, being natives of the neighbouring coast. The captors however seem to have profited by their sale, and to have taken no part in promoting their redemption.

The Directors by no means think that the

disgust which will be raised by the next story which they shall recite, is a sufficient reason for withholding it; especially as another of the sources by which the Slave Trade is supplied with its victims, is exhibited at the end of it.

— “ A grumetta, or free labourer, belonging to an European trader a little way to the north, was accused of theft by his master. The labourer, according to the superstitious custom of the country, demanded to be tried by the red water; that is, by drinking a species of water suspected to be poisonous, the effect of which is supposed to determine his innocence or guilt. The British slave-trader after some time consented; the king of the country was summoned, and made his appearance together with all his family and attendants. The common preliminaries being adjusted, the poor man drank one draught of the water, and then began to swell; presently afterwards he fell down dead, his belly bursting. On this the king very solemnly pronounced sentence against him, and then proceeded to condemn all his family to slavery. They were seized, and afterwards sold. During the trial two men with clubs stood on each side of the accused, in order to be ready to knock out his brains as soon as those symptoms produced by the red water, to which the natives attach guilt, should appear. The white slave-trader who
“ was

“ was the master of this man, and agreed to
 “ this mode of trial, is considered very much
 “ in the light of an African chief among the
 “ natives of this part.” Four different evi-
 dences of this are mentioned.

Although the proprietors are not yet prepared, by any thing that has been said in this Report, to credit the degree of superstitious ignorance in which the natives of Africa are held (a subject which will be treated hereafter); yet the following anecdote, bearing in some measure on the Slave Trade, is here introduced.

—— “ A man in a neighbouring town has
 “ been told a little time ago, on the charge
 “ of having changed himself, by the help
 “ of witchcraft, into a leopard, and of having
 “ carried off, in that shape, some fowls and
 “ goats from the town of the nearest chief
 “ to us.”

The succeeding story may serve to shew the extreme horror which some of the natives feel at the thought of being sent into slavery.

—— “ A native employed by us as a free
 “ mariner, went down on board our ship
 “ Providence, to the river Sherbro: happen-
 “ ing to see some rice come on board from
 “ the factory on shore, while he could not
 “ discover that any goods were given in ex-
 “ change, he was seized with a dreadful fit
 “ of terror, having taken up an idea that
 “ there was an intention to sell him for a
 “ slave, in barter for the goods which were
 “ taken

“ taken into the ship. At the moment when
 “ the factor from the shore was stepping on
 “ board, being full of this persuasion, he drew
 “ a knife and endeavoured to stab him, but
 “ having missed his aim he leaped overboard.
 “ After some difficulty he was recovered
 “ out of the water, and was asked the reason
 “ of his conduct, which he explained in the
 “ way that has been just mentioned. He
 “ continued still to shew the greatest fear,
 “ and declared he would rather die than be
 “ sold as a slave. As it was suspected that
 “ he might have a secret design against his
 “ own life, his hands were bound, but in
 “ consequence of his earnest intreaty, and
 “ his promise to remain quiet, they were a
 “ little while after loosed. When midnight
 “ came on he contrived to get into a canoe
 “ alongside the ship, which he cut away, and
 “ then drifted down the stream, till he got
 “ to a town at the river’s mouth ; here he
 “ was seized and put in irons by the natives,
 “ but on the captain’s application to a chief
 “ that is very friendly to us, he got his
 “ liberty again. The idea of slavery having
 “ got entire possession of his brain, he soon
 “ afterwards threw himself into the water,
 “ and was given up for drowned. It proved
 “ that he once more got on shore, and being
 “ again recovered by the Company, he was
 “ carried back in the ship to Freetown,
 “ where he is now employed within the
 “ settlement. It is thought by the physicians
 “ that

“ that the terror of being made a slave must
 “ have overpowered him so much, as to have
 “ occasioned in him some derangement of
 “ intellect, which may occasionally return in
 “ some small degree. He feels now very
 “ much attached to the Company, and happy
 “ in their service: his friends say that he
 “ never experienced the smallest disorder in
 “ his mind before this fright happened.”

The following quotations throw some additional light on the nature of the Slave Trade, and coming from an immediate witness of the scenes which are described, cannot fail to interest the Proprietors. The dates of these several occurrences were various.

———“ I have been to day for some time
 “ on board a large slave-ship in the river,
 “ which had taken in two hundred and fifty
 “ slaves; the men were chained together in
 “ pairs by the hand and foot, the women
 “ were kept apart. The young slaves appeared cheerful and lively, but the old
 “ ones shewed themselves to be much cast
 “ down. At the approach of meal-time they
 “ are obliged to set up a shout, and they
 “ are made to clap their hands for exercise,
 “ immediately before they begin to eat. I
 “ was present when this was done, and could
 “ see shame and indignation in the countenances of those who were more advanced in years. One woman, who spoke
 “ a little English, begged of me to carry her
 “ back:

“ back to Sierra Leone: she said that she
 “ was a native of the opposite shore of the
 “ river to Freetown, that her husband had
 “ sold her in order to pay his debts, and
 “ that she had left a child behind her: at
 “ the mention of the child she wept.”

——— “ I was this morning again on
 “ board a slave-vessel; there was a woman
 “ on deck who had been newly sold, and
 “ she seemed to have been shedding tears.
 “ I asked her the reason of her sorrow; she
 “ pointed to her breasts, from which the
 “ milk was flowing, and intimated that she
 “ had been torn from her infant, while it
 “ was yet unweaned. The captain also in-
 “ formed me that this was the case. She
 “ was from one of the nearest towns to us;
 “ she said that she had been sold on account
 “ of her being fauzy to the queen or head-
 “ woman in it.”

——— “ In walking through the neigh-
 “ bouring slave-yard, I saw a man about
 “ thirty-five years old in irons: he was a
 “ Mahometan, and could read and write
 “ Arabic. He was occasionally noisy; some-
 “ times he would sing a melancholy song,
 “ then he would utter an earnest prayer,
 “ and then perhaps for a time he would
 “ observe a dead silence. I asked the reason
 “ of this strange conduct, and learned that
 “ it was in consequence of his strong feel-
 “ ings on his having been just put, for the
 “ first time, in irons: I believe he had be-
 “ gun

“ gun to wear them only the day before,
 “ As we passed he cried aloud to us, and
 “ endeavoured to hold up his iron to our
 “ view, which he struck with his hand in a
 “ very expressive manner, the tear starting
 “ in his eye. He seemed by his manner to
 “ be demanding the cause of his confinement.”

“ The captain of an American slave-ship
 “ has been telling us that he lost a very fine
 “ slave a few days ago *by the fults*. The
 “ following were his words, as nearly as I
 “ can recollect. — The man (he said) was
 “ a Mahometan, and uncommonly well
 “ made, and he looked to me as if he had
 “ been some person of consequence. When
 “ he first came on board he was very much
 “ cast down, but on finding that I allowed
 “ him to walk at large, he got a little more
 “ reconciled to the ship. When the number
 “ of my slaves grew to be such that I could
 “ not let them have their liberty any longer,
 “ I put this man in irons like the rest, and
 “ upon this his spirits sunk down again to
 “ such a degree that he never recovered it.
 “ He complained of a pain at his heart, and
 “ would not eat. *The usual means* were tried
 “ with him, but it seemed all in vain, for
 “ he continued to reject food altogether, except
 “ when I myself stood by and made
 “ him eat. I offered him some of the best
 “ things in the ship, and left no method un-
 “ tried with him, for I had set my heart on
 “ saving

“ saving him. I am persuaded he would
 “ have brought me three hundred dollars in
 “ the West Indies ; but nothing would suc-
 “ ceed. He said from the first that he was
 “ determined to die, and accordingly so he
 “ did after lingering for the space of nine
 “ days. I assure you, gentlemen, I felt very
 “ sorry on the occasion, for I dare say I lost
 “ three hundred dollars by his death, and
 “ to such a man as me that is a very heavy
 “ loss.”

The two following dialogues will exhibit,
 in a still stranger point of view, the manner
 in which the enormities that have just been
 charged on the Slave Trade are plainly ac-
 knowledged on the coast, and sometimes even
 by the perpetrators themselves. They will
 also tend to shew in what manner those Eu-
 ropeans who are become familiar with the
 iniquitous scenes commonly going on in
 Africa, have been brought to tolerate them
 in their minds, and to accommodate their
 feelings to them ; how completely they have
 lost sight of every real principle of justice,
 and have learnt to substitute a morality of
 their own, to which they attach a certain
 degree of credit, which however evidently
 amounts to nothing higher than a disavowal
 of some horrible enormities, and is in fact
 only a more deliberate and effectual system
 of injustice, cruelty, and oppression.

“ The following is the substance of a con-
 “ versation which I have been holding with
 “ an

“ an English slave-factor, who has been living
 “ for some years a little way to the south,
 “ and has had full opportunity of acquainting
 “ himself with all the practices of the Slave
 “ Trade. The slave-factor having spoken
 “ of the late mulatto trader (the same person
 “ of whose ravages the Proprietors have
 “ heard so much) in rather strong and fa-
 “ vourable terms, having mentioned him as
 “ a very gentleman-like, well-educated, sen-
 “ sible, and respectable kind of man, I was
 “ induced to ask, in the progress of the con-
 “ versation, whether he had not been guilty
 “ of many excesses all around his own neigh-
 “ bourhood.” — “ Excesses ! No. He
 “ would make war sometimes on the head-
 “ men that owed him money, and would
 “ sell some of their people in order to pay
 “ himself, if he could catch them ; but this
 “ was only when he had some just debts that
 “ were unsatisfied : or he might perhaps
 “ carry off the inhabitants of a town, when
 “ the king or father of it gave him per-
 “ mission, he having first bought from the
 “ king an express authority to take them.
 “ He was a *good man* on the whole, and a
 “ *man of humanity* : for he by no means shed
 “ all the blood he might, nor did he always
 “ sell every one of those he had a right to
 “ sell. For instance, there is the chief now
 “ living near Freetown, who was adjudged
 “ to be his property as well as all his gene-
 “ ration ; but the chief himself has never
 “ vet

“ yet been fold, which is to be looked upon
 “ as a mere act of forbearance in the mulatto
 “ trader; I consider the sentence however to
 “ be still in force against him.”——“ Did
 “ not the mulatto trader order an attack on
 “ the neighbouring island, on which occasion
 “ the proprietor of it was killed in defending
 “ himself; and is it not considered by the
 “ surviving friends of the proprietor that this
 “ attack was an act of great injustice?”——
 “ The proprietor well deserved to be at-
 “ tacked, for there is reason to think he was
 “ at that very time intending to attack the
 “ mulatto trader.”——“ I understand that
 “ this affair is by no means over, and that
 “ the successors of this proprietor intend to
 “ retaliate on the successors of the mulatto
 “ chief, when they have an opportunity.”——
 “ I believe they do, but it ill becomes them
 “ to call in question the conduct of the
 “ mulatto chief, for they should consider how
 “ much worse things their own father used
 “ to do. I will give you a specimen of his
 “ proceedings. The old man has been known
 “ to sail up a river with some large craft fol-
 “ lowing him, and to land at a considerable
 “ town under a great shew of friendship.
 “ Having called the head-men and all the
 “ people together, he has made them a
 “ speech, remarking how very shamefully
 “ they had been used by all former traders,
 “ and assuring them that he was come to do
 “ them good, and to trade fairly with them as
 “ with

“ with friends and brothers. He has next
 “ told them, that, as a proof of his friend-
 “ ship, he has brought a puncheon or two
 “ of rum with him, which he has then
 “ opened and invited them to sit round and
 “ drink. On the approach of night, when
 “ he has got them thoroughly intoxicated,
 “ he has given the signal to his people in the
 “ craft, who have come up and secured all
 “ the party in fetters and carried them down
 “ to the river’s mouth, where he has sold
 “ every one of them that was worth pur-
 “ chasing, to some slave-ship that was all the
 “ while in waiting. Many other things of
 “ this kind used to be done by this old pro-
 “ prietor. But as to the mulatto trader, he
 “ never did such things as these ; he would
 “ never use treachery, neither would he
 “ attack a town without having reason for
 “ it ; but the other man used to plunder
 “ without distinction.”——“ Does the suc-
 “ cessor of the mulatto trader take the same
 “ means of recovering debts as his prede-
 “ cessor did ?”——“ *No, he is too easy.*”——
 “ Is it not an unpleasant thing to carry on a
 “ trade so full of enormities as you describe
 “ the Slave Trade to be ?”——“ It is no
 “ doubt a bad trade, but it is very profitable.
 “ I hate it, and would get out of it to-mor-
 “ row if I knew of another line in which I
 “ could get the same money.”

The conversation that follows, though not
 altogether unlike the former in its stile, refers

to some different points, and is one of a much more shameless kind. It occurred with a slave-captain on the coast, of whom however it should be observed that he certainly surpasses most of his brethren in effrontery and cruelty of disposition. The effects produced by the Slave Trade on the minds of Europeans, which nothing can shew more clearly than the recital of these dialogues, constitute a consideration of such great importance in the opinion of the Directors, as to outweigh every objection to the quotation of them.

———“ A slave-vessel, which has been
 “ waiting some time in the neighbouring
 “ river for her loading of slaves, arrived
 “ here. The captain has been complaining
 “ bitterly of his tedious detention, and in
 “ the course of the conversation he went the
 “ length of observing, that if he had been
 “ well manned he would not have allowed
 “ the trader with whom he had been deal-
 “ ing, to detain him as he had done. For
 “ (said he) there was a large town directly
 “ opposite the place where my vessel lay,
 “ and if my hands on board had been suf-
 “ ficient I would have carried off some of
 “ the people. I asked him, whether taking
 “ away the people, in that manner, was a
 “ common thing: O not at all uncommon
 “ (replied he) we do these things every day
 “ on the Gold Coast, we call it *panyaring*.
 “ If a native in that part is not so speedy as
 “ he

“ he should be in his payments, you man
 “ your boats towards the dusk of the even-
 “ ing, and bid your sailors go up to any
 “ town that is rather near, where they catch
 “ as many people as they can, no matter
 “ whether it be your debtor’s town or not.
 “ If your debt be large, it may be necessary
 “ to catch two towns; after this, your
 “ debtor will very soon complete his number
 “ of slaves.”——“ But what if he should
 “ not ?”——“ Why then we carry our
 “ prisoners away, to be sure.”——“ But is
 “ this proper ?”——“ Necessity has no law ;
 “ besides, panyaring is country law.”——
 “ Did you ever recover debts in this man-
 “ ner ?”——“ Aye, many a time, and I
 “ hope to do so again : I wish we had the
 “ same law here that they have on the Gold
 “ Coast, or that the old mulatto trader was
 “ alive ; he was a fine fellow to do business
 “ with, he would never cause any delay to
 “ any one. But as to the present man he is
 “ afraid to make a haul of the people, as the
 “ man before him used to do : he wants a
 “ proper spirit.”——I asked him afterwards
 “ how he contrived with his slender crew
 “ to keep a proper guard over his slaves.——
 “ I take good care, said he, that they never
 “ shall do me an injury, for I put them all
 “ in leg-irons. And if leg-irons be not
 “ enough, why then I handcuff them. If
 “ handcuffs are too little, I put a collar
 “ round their neck, with a chain fastened

“ to it, which is locked to a ringbolt in the
 “ deck. If one chain be not sufficient, I
 “ put two, and if two wont do, I put three :
 “ you may trust me for that.”

“ Towards the end of our conversation,
 “ he very gravely assured me that he had
 “ never known any acts of *cruelty* committed
 “ in the Slave Trade.”——“ But are not
 “ these things cruelties ?”——“ O no, these
 “ are not cruelties, they are matters of
 “ course ; there is no carrying on the trade
 “ without such things as these.”

That the Slave Trade has not unfrequently
 issued in the sudden destruction of those im-
 mediately engaged in it, and that no se-
 verities can operate to the certain prevention
 of these dreadful evils, the following accounts
 of the cutting off of slave-ships, which have
 all been furnished from the neighbourhood
 of Sierra Leone, and are most of them very
 recent cases, will sufficiently testify.

——“ I have just heard that an Ameri-
 “ can brig, commanded by Captain ——,
 “ who I understand was outlawed in Eng-
 “ land, has been cut off by the slaves, seven
 “ or eight leagues to the northward of Cape
 “ Sierra Leone. A single slave having armed
 “ himself with an axe began the attack,
 “ rushed into the cabin, and laid open the
 “ captain’s face and breast ; he also wounded
 “ a passenger who was on board very se-
 “ verely ; as the seamen made no resistance
 “ they

“ they were permitted to go off in the boat,
 “ carrying the wounded people away with
 “ them. The captain died. The slave-ship
 “ was retaken by a Liverpool vessel, after
 “ an encounter in which some of the slaves
 “ were killed.”

The following account of a very desperate struggle on board a slave-ship, forms part of a considerable detail of occurrences which do not altogether bear on the present subject. It is but candid to observe that the war, which will here be spoken of, a war indeed of a most extraordinary and perhaps unprecedented kind, appears in no respect to have arisen out of the Slave Trade. The dangers attending this traffic are however strongly evinced by the story which will be given.

——— “ I have got considerable light
 “ into the history of Mahady, the famous
 “ Mahometan prophet, who appeared in
 “ these parts with an immense concourse of
 “ followers, about three years ago. When
 “ he was killed, some of his generals con-
 “ tended together for the mastery, and one
 “ of them was made a prisoner of war by
 “ his antagonist, who immediately sold him
 “ to a French slave-ship that was lying off a
 “ factory not far from Sierra Leone. There
 “ he carried himself with a fullen dignity,
 “ and, even in chains, he would address his
 “ fellow slaves in his accustomed tone of
 “ authority and command, as if he were
 “ still a man whom no one would dare to
 “ disobey

“ disobey. I heard this from a slave-trader
 “ who both beheld him a prisoner on board
 “ the slave-ship, and had also formerly seen
 “ him in the quality of a great chief or
 “ general in Mahady’s train. The slave-
 “ trader recollected the chief, and the captive
 “ chief also recognized the slave-trader. On
 “ the same day, when the author of my in-
 “ telligence was on board, it happened that
 “ the chief was permitted to take a walk on
 “ deck without his usual fetters. No sooner
 “ had the captain of the ship set down to
 “ dinner with his friends in the cabin, than
 “ an appointed signal was given. The slaves
 “ rose to a man, knocked off each other’s
 “ fetters, and, headed by this chief, made an
 “ attack on the barricade, with the view of
 “ forcing their way into the cabin ; they were
 “ unable however to effect their purpose ; the
 “ guns were pointed at them, some were
 “ killed, many leaped into the sea, and the
 “ insurrection was quelled. The captain was
 “ now proceeding to inquire who was the
 “ ringleader, when this chief came boldly
 “ forward and avowed that he had set on
 “ foot and headed the insurrection, adding
 “ that his wish undoubtedly had been to
 “ give liberty to all the slaves on board, and
 “ that he regretted his defeat on their ac-
 “ count ; but that as to himself he was well
 “ satisfied with the issue of the contest, being
 “ now happy in the prospect of immediately
 “ obtaining what he termed his own liberty :
 “ the

“ the captain did not delay to grant him the
 “ object of his wish, and hung him up in-
 “ stantly to the yard arm, as an example to
 “ the other insurgents.” •

The Directors think it may not be im-
 proper to observe, that they do not wish to
 be considered as approving in the smallest
 degree the leading principles of this chief,
 who appears to have been actuated by a spirit
 of pride and a disdain of life evidently un-
 christian. The dangers of the Slave Trade,
 and the impossibility of effectually guarding
 against insurrection, not the motives of the
 insurgents, of which the purity is not to be
 expected, are the points under consideration.

The Directors will proceed to add another
 circumstantial account of a no less fierce and
 very recent conflict, on board a slave-ship.

“ A vessel from the northward brought
 “ the account of the cutting off of a Boston
 “ slave-ship, by about forty slaves who were
 “ on board. Being kept only in single chains
 “ they took an opportunity, while the captain
 “ and chief part of the crew were below, to
 “ overpower the second mate and a seaman
 “ on the deck, whom they cut in pieces
 “ and threw overboard; they then began to
 “ attack the cabin, but being unable to force
 “ the door they brought the guns from the
 “ deck to bear upon it. The captain and
 “ the rest of his crew were now induced to
 “ surrender themselves on condition of hav-
 “ ing their lives spared, and the ship given
 “ to

“ to them as soon as they should have na-
 “ vigated her into some place, from whence
 “ the slaves might escape: No sooner how-
 “ ever had the captain and chief mate come
 “ on the deck than they were both put to
 “ death ; but the seamen were preserved for
 “ the sake of having their help in navigating
 “ the vessel, which they accordingly con-
 “ ducted towards the mouth of a neighbour-
 “ ing river. Happening suddenly to run
 “ aground, three of the seamen were sent
 “ off in a boat to drop an anchor astern,
 “ which they had no sooner done than they
 “ pulled away from the ship with all their
 “ might, succeeded in gaining the shore, and
 “ presently brought down with them a slave
 “ trader, a resident in that part, who having
 “ put himself and as many hands as he could
 “ get on board an armed schooner, attempted
 “ the recovery of the vessel : an obstinate
 “ engagement ensued, in which the slave-
 “ trader had three men killed and four
 “ wounded. The slaves having expended all
 “ their ammunition formed a raft, by the
 “ help of which they escaped to the shore ;
 “ and it appeared on taking possession of the
 “ ship that several on their side had also
 “ fallen in the battle. Of the slaves who
 “ gained the land some were immediately
 “ killed ; the rest, being eighteen in num-
 “ ber, were at length intirely overpowered
 “ by the natives, who were brought down
 “ in crowds to the river side by the noise of
 “ the

“ the firing : these eighteen being taken
 “ prisoners were again sold for slaves.”

One or two other recent instances of the cutting off of slave-ships in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, are mentioned to the Court, but the particulars are not transmitted.

The Directors will close this long enumeration of those general enormities of the Slave Trade, which have been brought to light through the establishment of the present colony, by giving a brief history of the origin, progress, and end of an European slave-trader, who lately died at one of the neighbouring islands to Sierra Leone, after a long residence on the coast, and who appears to have attained to a degree of ferocity and hardness of heart proportionate in some measure to his successes in this bloody traffic. As this man appears to have neither friend nor connection left, the Directors will think themselves under no obligation to use any concealment on the subject. His name was Ormond ; he went out from England about thirty-five years ago, in the capacity of cabin-boy to a slave-ship, and was retained as an assistant in a slave-factory on the Sierra Leone river ; in process of time he set up a factory for himself, in a neighbouring part towards the north, and though unable to write or read, he grew nevertheless to be so expert and accomplished a slave-trader that he realized, as it is supposed, about thirty thousand

pounds sterling. His cruelties were almost beyond belief. Two persons, who seem to have had good means of information, have given the following account of them. "One
 " of these persons, who had lived for some
 " time near to him, said, he knew it to be
 " a fact that it was his common practice to
 " kill all his unfaleable slaves, by tying a
 " stone to their necks, and drowning them
 " in the river during the night." Nor was his cruelty confined to blacks; "being offered by a white agent, or clerk, on one
 " Christmas-day, while drinking freely with
 " some company, he ordered his slaves to
 " tie up the European, and then gave him
 " with his own hands four hundred lashes.
 " The white factor died a few days after." The other person who spoke of this slave-trader agreed as to his general character for barbarity, and mentioned his having heard the following instance of it from an eye witness, namely, "that Ormond having caught
 " a black wife of his in a criminal connection
 " with one of his slaves, he tied them together to a tar-barrel, set it on fire, and in
 " this manner burnt them both to death." It is observable also, that this savage by no means fell short of the natives of Africa in the degree of heathenish superstition to which he had attained; he had the same firm trust with them in grigris, or charms, was subject to silly superstitious fears, and had the usual faith in witchcraft. Providence having thus
 per-

permitted this man to become a signal instance of a no less abandoned than successful slave-trader, was pleased to allow that he should experience before he terminated his days the following vicissitude. A few years ago, having lost his health, he went to the Isles de Los (which lie to the northward of Sierra Leone) for the sake of sea air and medical help, having confided all his affairs to a mulatto youth, who was his son. Happening to have recently quarrelled with the Bagos, who are the natives that surround his place of residence, and to have destroyed one of their towns, they took this opportunity to retaliate, and came down in a body to attack and plunder his factory. The slaves of Ormond being not much attached to their master, favoured the Bagos, and the place being taken they shared in the general pillage; the buildings were all burnt; the goods in them, which are said to have amounted to the value of twelve or fifteen hundred slaves (or near thirty thousand pounds) were either destroyed or carried away; young Ormond and all who adhered to him were put to death; old Ormond lived to hear the news, but he died in about a month after.

The Directors have thought it proper to give the character of this man, principally with a view of exhibiting an instance of the great influence of the Slave Trade, in destroying the feelings, and depraving the human heart. The same story may serve also
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to shew, what crimes have been perpetrated with impunity by British subjects in Africa ; and of what instruments Great Britain has made use, in carrying on this detestable commerce.

The Directors however would by no means be understood to impute to the general body of slave-traders on the coast, atrocities equal to those which have been mentioned ; at the same time they think it right to observe, that other instances might if necessary have been added, which would have exhibited very nearly the same degree of guilt and cruelty.

In proceeding next to speak of the direct hindrances by which the Slave Trade will be shewn to have obstructed the Company's views of Civilization, the Directors will dwell first and chiefly, on two or three particular facts, adding indeed in the sequel, some observations on the general contrariety which must necessarily exist between the principles of the Sierra Leone Company and those of the Slave Trade, even though no such specific hindrances as those which will be stated, should occur again.

The first instance that shall be named of a direct hindrance given by the Slave Trade to the Civilization, or rather indeed to the first colonization of Africa, will be one of a very interesting, and perhaps the Proprietors may think, of a rather ominous and discouraging kind,

kind. The Directors allude to the overthrow or dispersion of the first colony of free blacks from hence, which, as the following account will shew, may obviously be traced to the Slave Trade.

The Proprietors may recollect, that this settlement, on which the first subscribers to the present Sierra Leone Company founded a considerable part of their hopes, was mentioned, in the opening of this Report, to have been broken up not very long after its establishment, in consequence of a dispute with the natives, in which the settlers (apparently however not through their own fault) unhappily became involved. The circumstances were as follows. A native chief living within half a mile of Freetown, which is the same spot on which the free blacks from London originally placed themselves, had lost, as he affirms, two individuals of his town, by the depredations of an American slave-captain, and had been some time waiting for an opportunity of retaliating on any vessel from the same country, that might come within his reach: the opportunity after a-while occurred; a boat which was found to belong to an American ship, happening to pass up the river, was attacked and plundered by him and his people; the crew that were in her consisting of three or four men, were put to death, one only excepted, who escaped, and conveyed the news to the neighbouring slave-factory, the place to which the boat had
been

been going. The principal agent of the factory, after some consultation with the officers of a man of war then lying in the river, determined on becoming the avenger of the outrage. Some ineffectual attempts were first made to induce the Chief to come on board the frigate, but after an interval of two or three days, the slave-factor himself, together with a lieutenant from the King's ship, and a body of British sailors and marines, set out on an expedition to the town of the chief, having also added to their party two of the free blacks from the new settlement as their guides, who by living in the immediate neighbourhood, were of course acquainted with the road, and who were pressed, as they say, most unwillingly into this service. On the approach of this armed body of men, the Chief and his people fled ; the town was plundered and set on fire ; the slave-factor however, and the party with him from the King's ship, returning in the dusk of the evening, were suddenly attacked by a discharge of musquetry from among the bushes, and an engagement ensued, in which some natives are said to have fallen on the one side, and the first lieutenant of the man of war and a serjeant of marines were killed on the other, a few also being slightly wounded. One consequence of the slaughter that happened among the natives on this occasion, was, that the Chief used afterwards frequently to vow, that he must now retaliate again for
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the further loss of people that he had sustained ; happily, however, the slave-factor, against whose person his rage was principally directed, soon afterwards quitted the coast.

This scene of outrage produced, as it happened, no great mischief or inconvenience to the slave-factory, which is situated at some distance on an island in the river, and is also well fortified ; but its consequences were fatal to the neighbouring and unprotected settlement of free blacks. A palaver or council was called of all the surrounding Chiefs, who following the African custom of directing their vengeance for every mischief done to them, against any persons guilty or not guilty, whom they have within their power, and whom they imagine in the smallest degree connected with the authors of the injury ; and having heard that in this case two individuals from the neighbouring colony were among the hostile party, determined that the whole town of the free settlers should be burned. The sentence was executed within three days, and the settlers were dispersed. It is but doing justice to the slave-factory to observe, that it afforded a temporary protection and support to several of the settlers, during the first pressure of their distress.

The story that has now been recited deserves notice, not only as affording an explanation of the immediate cause of the dispersion of the first colony which went from hence to Sierra Leone, but as a specimen also
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of one of the kinds of danger to which every body of new settlers in Africa must necessarily be more or less exposed, so long as the Slave Trade is carrying on all around them. The events which happened in this case were none of them strange or extraordinary. An outrage is committed or supposed to be committed by a slave-captain, in the procuring of slaves ; a blind and bloody act of vengeance on the part of the natives follows ; the neighbouring slave-factory interferes, and the little adjoining settlement is involved in the consequences of the quarrel. All these are accidents which belong to the very nature of the Slave Trade ; they grow out of its ordinary enormities, they suit with its ferocious spirit, and accord with its principles of injustice : for the indiscriminate seizure of each others persons, is the very lesson which is daily taught the Africans by the European factors, who blame no violence, revenge no injury, and discourage no atrocity that tends to the extension of their own traffic ; and who, so far as the Directors are informed, are not accustomed to decline buying any man for a slave, on the ground of his having been unjustly brought into captivity. Indeed more than one instance might easily be pointed out, as the Directors conceive, in which the same slave-factory which became the administrator of justice upon this occasion, has purchased Africans, knowing them at the time of purchase to be free men, knowing also that
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the individual who offered them for sale, had himself seized them unjustly, and had no shadow of right to sell them. Nor do the Directors mention this by way of casting particular reflections on any individual slave-factory; for they believe that the other slave-factories in Africa follow the same custom, each thinking it perhaps a sufficient justification to plead, that if it should be so singular as to decline making these purchases, other slave-factories would feel no such scruples; or even if they did, that the captains of the ships themselves, without the intervention of a factory, would purchase and carry off the people who might have been rejected. And indeed it is reasonable to suppose, that the slave-factors on the coast cannot be altogether insensible of the very important diminution which might eventually be made in their trade, if the principle of inquiring into the mode of procuring the slaves sold to them, and of refusing those who might appear to have a just title to their freedom, should be once in any degree admitted. But whatever be the ground, on which the encouragement evidently given to the commission of outrages on the persons of the natives, may be justified in the imagination of the slave-dealers, it is surely not to be wondered at, if either they themselves, or white men visiting the coast, or any neighbouring settlement supposed to be connected with Europe, should occasionally feel

feel the effects of the diffusion of these principles of injustice.

The Court having heard the circumstances which caused the dispersion of the first colony, will not be surprised if the Directors, anxious to provide against a return of the same danger, should have felt that eager desire which has been stated in an early part of this Report, to enlarge the number of colonists, and should have urged on the Proprietors, as they did, the importance of forming at once a strong and respectable establishment.

Another evidence of the danger arising from the Slave Trade to the personal security of any neighbouring colonists, is afforded by the following story :

Some time before the establishment of the present Company, a British slave-trader who lived then in Sierra Leone river, but is lately removed, seized five free blacks (part of the colony from England which has been lately spoken of) justifying this violence on the ground of his having been wronged by one individual of their body, somewhere at a distance on the coast, where he was employed in navigating a vessel belonging to this slave-factor. The country law warranted, as the factor said, this mode of redressing the grievance, and he seems therefore to have taken the first five settlers he could meet with. He was induced, however, after some time, to
release

release three of them gratuitously, the two remaining prisoners being thought on consideration to afford that recompence for his loss, which was fit and proper on the common principles of African justice. These two men, who were admitted to have no connection with the defaulter, nor any means of catching him, he having run away from the ship when at the distance of some hundred miles from the settlement, and whose only crime was that they had formerly lived in the same town with him, were kept by this British slave-trader some time in chains, and then sold and put by him on board a slave-ship that was on the point of sailing; when a Mahometan chief, who happened to come from the interior country, took compassion on their case, and, having advanced out of his own pocket about fifty pounds sterling for their redemption, released them and sent them home. The same chief lately fell into some distresses himself, and being in debt to one of the factories, was deprived of a favourite free boy, whom he had sent with a message to the factor, the boy being seized for the satisfaction of the debt. The chief, half distracted at the loss, came down to Sierra Leone, and endeavoured in vain to trace the child from factory to factory: at length he called at Freetown, mentioned his present poverty, and the affliction which had brought him down to the coast, and modestly asked to have the fifty pounds restored to him

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which

which he had formerly paid for the redemption of some of the freemen of Granville Town, and had never claimed before. The Directors have mentioned all these circumstances together and in this place, though part of them might have been classed with the incidents enumerated some time since, because they wish to remark that the Governor and Council were led very carefully to investigate the whole of this interesting case; and they found from different concurring circumstances, that the main facts were precisely as has been stated. The fifty pounds were paid back to the chief by the Company, in consequence of this investigation.

The Directors have reason to think that several others of this first unprotected body of settlers have been sold from time to time, and actually carried off the coast. One is believed to have been kidnapped by a neighbouring black slave-trader; and an instance has occurred of another having turned kidnapper himself; the natives whom he had seized and sold were however recovered, through the intervention of the Company, and the kidnapper was corporally punished. Some are also said to have been sold for crimes charged against them. All these incidents however, the detection and punishment of the individual who turned kidnapper alone excepted, happened antecedently to the formation of the present colony.

The Proprietors, after all the evidence that
has

has been given, will not be surpris'd if the insecurity of travellers, and the prevention of a free communication with the interior country, should be spoken of as another hindrance to the views of the Company. The mention of this point, indeed, opens a wide field for reflection. It has appeared from many recent investigations, that the natives of Africa who live towards the coast, are far more barbarous than those of the interior country; and that while the population towards the sea is extremely thin, and the little intercourse that subsists in this part dangerous, there are to be found, on advancing further inland, many towns of considerable magnitude; some of which, lying in the very heart of Africa, are supposed to carry on much internal trade, and even to have made no small progress in Civilization. Whether, therefore, the immediate interests of the Company, or the general benefit both of Africa and Europe, be contemplated, the opening of some connection with the interior of this vast continent, naturally presents itself to the mind as a most desirable object. But here again the Slave Trade exerts its baneful influence. That general insecurity of persons which results from it; that dissolution of all government which it has caused on many parts of the coast; that drunkenness which it has introduced among the native kings and chiefs; but, above all, perhaps, the dread of secret machinations from the slave-traders themselves

selves, who by means of a chain of factories have a considerable influence in the interior, and may be considered also as holding the key of Africa in their hands, by possessing almost the entire empire of the coast—all these circumstances form, unquestionably, a very formidable hindrance in the way of every liberal and benevolent attempt to extend discoveries in Africa, with the view of ultimately setting on foot some peaceful and mutually advantageous intercourse with the natives of the interior parts.

The Proprietors are already informed that an attempt to penetrate into the country surrounding Sierra Leone, was made by the Company's mineralogist, in the very infancy of the colony. He was a person who to some impatience of spirit, joined a very ardent mind, a love of general knowledge, and great personal respectability, as well as experience in his profession. He went from England for the purpose of extending his discoveries, having voluntarily offered his services to the Company, taking no salary, but simply stipulating, that if any profits should arise from his professional researches, he should have the share which mineralogists are commonly allowed, and that the expenses of his passage and living at Sierra Leone should be borne by the Company. This first of the adventurers from Sierra Leone on a journey of discovery, was attacked and plundered of all his goods, as was before stated, by a native chief,

chief, and was obliged to return in so deplorable a condition, that he appears to have died of the vexations and hardships he encountered. It would not have been unreasonable to suspect that the Slave Trade might have imparted some of its ferocity to this chief, even if no evidence of a positive connection between him and the slave-traders had been furnished. It has however happened, that a subsequent attack on another servant of the Company has been made by the same chief, at the instigation, as the Directors are informed, of a French slave-trader ; who represented to him and his people, that a ship of the Sierra Leone Company trading in this river, had been equipped for the purpose of making war on all the French slave-factors living in his territories. On the arrival of the Company's vessel, the natives were alarmed ; but the peaceable demeanor of the captain, who merely went up to buy some rice in the principal town, soon allayed their fears. The chief however meeting with the captain while he was thus employed, and being very drunk at the time, was induced to make an assault upon him. The people aggravated the insult, tore the clothes from the captain's back, dragged him to another town about two miles off, and there kept him prisoner. When the chief grew sober, he began to reflect on what he had done, ordered the prisoner to be set free, and made him some

presents by way of compensation for the insult.

The Directors will not add, in this place, any more observations on the hindrances which the Slave Trade has given to the Company, as the same general subject will necessarily recur again, in speaking of the steps that have been taken to promote Civilization. Yet before they dismiss the topic of the Slave Trade, they propose in consequence of its very great importance, briefly to recapitulate some of the leading circumstances which have been stated.

It appears then, that the chief sources of the Slave Trade are debts, wars, crimes, and kidnapping. When debts are stated to be one of the sources of slavery, there may seem nothing on the first view very dreadful in the idea; but let the facts which have been mentioned on this subject be put together, and they will be found to exhibit such a system of wickedness, and such a scene of accumulated misery, as would by no means have presented itself to the mind, on a slight investigation.

In the first place it may be observed, from the concurrent testimonies which have been given, that if an African contracts a debt, it is not the debtor himself that is commonly sold for the discharge of it; an innocent person almost always pays the penalty: a wife, or a child, or some other near connection of the debtor, or perhaps some native resident in
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his town, or some stranger who had sought protection there, is the person that is carried off by the slave-trader. (a) On one occasion, as it has been shewn, a child is torn away from its father by a debtor, and the slave-captain sails away with it before the parent can bring the prime slave demanded as a substitute. (b) In another instance, a wife is sold by her husband on account of a debt, and is seen weeping in the slave-ship, having also left a young child behind her. (c) In a third case, a favourite free-boy having come down to the coast with a message, is seized for the debt of his principal ; and he also is sent from Africa, before any opportunity is afforded for his redemption. (d) In a fourth, two of the settlers from England are sold, (three more having been also captured) on account of the debt of a townsman who runs away from his captain, on another part of the coast. When the custom of selling men in satisfaction for debt is contemplated in other views, it becomes still more dreadful. The native chiefs appear to be encouraged to contract debts by the slave-traders themselves, for the sake of that right of seizure which is known to follow. The very large credits given in Africa, which cannot be supposed to stand on the ordinary principles of commerce, but seem peculiar to a trade in slaves,

(a) See page 112. (b) p. 122. (c) p. 145. (d) p. 144.

form perhaps one of the grand supports of this traffic ; for some facts which have appeared at Sierra Leone, unequivocally shew that liberality of credit is made the means of legalizing all manner of enormities ; it serves the purpose either of subjecting a country to a slave-factor, or of securing quick dispatch to a slave-ship. By these credits the Mulatto trader acquired his power over all the neighbouring chiefs, and enabled himself to depopulate the whole country around him, without violating the customs of Africa, or forfeiting his character as a (e) ‘*good man and a man of humanity.*’ It is obvious also, that slave-captains coming to trade on the coast, may make a no less extensive use of the same system of credit. By unloading a part of their goods, and distributing them among the African headmen, they establish a claim to seize both them and the inferior people : and (f) ‘*if therefore the crew of the slave-ship be strong enough,*’ they need never wait long for their cargo, for they have only to resort, as one slave-captain did not scruple to say that he used to do, ‘*to the country law of (g) panyaring.*’ (h) In the Mandingo country it has been shewn, that debts are the source of kidnapping : for “ the headmen getting into debt to Euro-
 “ peans, are then put into confinement, in
 “ consequence of which their people are
 “ obliged to kidnap, in order to effect their

(e) page 125. (f) p. 128. (g) Ibid. (h) p. 105.

redemption.”

redemption." It may not be improper to remark, that there is no proceeding by which the Sierra Leone Company appear to have given so much offence to the native chiefs, as by refusing to indulge them with the usual African credit.

Wars are another source of the Slave Trade, and might also seem, on a superficial consideration of the subject, to rank amongst its least objectionable sources. But when a view of facts is taken, they are seen evidently and necessarily to involve the most horrible enormities. The natives of Africa, fearing to live detached from each other, congregate in towns under the protection of some headman, whom they commonly term their father: (*i*) he, being corrupted by liquor, is indulged with a very liberal loan of goods, and thus becomes involved in debt to the slave-factor: on the ground of this debt, war is made by the factor on the people; some are killed, and many more taken, and sold into slavery, and thus the debt of the chief is discharged. This is precisely the description of that multitude of little wars which were carried on by the great Mulatto slave-trader against all the inferior chiefs around him. From these wars others spring, and a long succession of hostilities is thus entailed on the chiefs and on the people. (*k*) A chief

(*i*) See page 100. (*k*) p. 101.

escapes from the Mulatto trader, with the residue of the people of his town, to a neighbouring island: thence, for a considerable period, he carries on a vindictive and at the same a predatory war, with his adversaries on the main land, taking occasionally forty prisoners at once from the mulatto trader, who would not be slow to retaliate in his turn; and further victims are thus furnished on each side to the Slave Trade. Some of these petty wars seem eminently productive to the traders; “(l) the chief of Quiaport attacks the chief of Bourah, and sends to the slave-factory many prisoners. The chief of Bourah gathers all his strength, and is put under the necessity of seizing double the number from his antagonist; for he is not allowed to redeem his own people, except by paying *two for one*.” Nor are these smaller wars among the inferior chiefs the only wars productive of slavery. There is not one great nation in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone which has not been represented, by credible witnesses, as being induced to go to war by the Slave Trade. (m) The female mulatto acknowledges, that when there is no demand for slaves, then there are no wars in the Mandingo country. “(n) The Foulahs, says another evidence, are perfectly well known to go to war for

(l) See page 103. (m) p. 104. (n) p. 103.

“ the sole purpose of procuring slaves.”
 “ The people directly inland, adds another
 “ chief, go to war for slaves ; our country
 “ being however now very much depopu-
 “ lated, and the passage of the slaves from
 “ the remote parts being hindered by the
 “ wars, the slave-factories have lately en-
 “ deavoured to make up our quarrels, and
 “ the adjacent country to Sierra Leone,
 “ begins now to be at peace.”

Crimes real or imputed form another principal ground on which persons are condemned to slavery : adultery is one of the highest : a native (o) chief in one case, and an European (p) chief in another, sells an inferior African on a charge of this sort ; but in each instance the chief acts on no other authority than his own will, and evidently gets the emolument arising from the condemnation to himself. And here also let the drunkenness and depravity, of the African (q) chiefs, who are thus judges in their own cause, be considered ; let the polygamy prevailing in Africa be taken into the account ; nor let the observation of a native trader be forgotten, “ (r) that it is common for chiefs when they
 “ want goods, to give a hint to one of their
 “ wives, to encourage adultery in the lower
 “ natives.” The other charges of criminality, which have been mentioned as sources of slavery, have been many of them so slight,

(o) p 114. (p) Ibid. (q) p. 115. (r) p. 107.

and accompanied with such indications of partiality and injustice on the part of the judges, that the decisions aggravate the general horror excited by the contemplation of this traffick. A whole town is doomed to slavery, the chief alone (*s*) excepted, for the crime of letting some runaway slaves pass through their district to the mountains. A woman from the next town is torn from her child (*t*) and sold, the milk still flowing from her breast, merely as it seems for using impertinent language. (*u*) Two men are sold by a chief after a fit of intoxication, in order to make compensation to a slave-trader whom he had insulted in his drunkenness. (*x*) One man is sold on a charge of having changed himself into a leopard. (*y*) The whole family of another poor wretch who had been put to death by red water, on a suspicion of theft, is sold on account of his supposed offence. (*z*) The remarkable circumstance of the mulatto slave-trader's setting up a slave to be a judge over his district, the growing power of this judge, the court paid to him by the slave-traders, and the dread of coming near him, instanced in the conduct of one of the natives, are also to be remembered.

The remaining source of slavery is kidnapping, of which numerous instances were given. (*a*) One of the Nova Scotians declares himself to have been formerly kidnapped from Sierra

(*s*) See page 110. (*t*) p. 122. (*u*) p. 115. (*x*) p. 119.
 (*y*) p. 118. (*z*) p. 101. (*a*) p. 108.

Leone, by a woman, and soon after his landing he is recognized by his parents. (b) Relations of the King of Sierra Leone are carried off, at three different times, by kidnappers. (c) The Company's agent falls in with a party of natives, who are seen in the very act of kidnapping. (d) A free settler from England is kidnapped by a neighbouring slave-trader. (e) Another free settler turns kidnapper himself, but is detected by the Governor and Council, and receives the punishment which he deserves. No less than three cases occur in which British commanders are infected with the common contagion, and come under the denomination of kidnappers, since they sell without scruple the free mariners found on board the French ships which they had captured. (f) In one of these instances nineteen freemen are sold, many of them the sons of chiefs. (g) In a second, three or four others, in spite of the strongest remonstrances of the Sierra Leone government. (h) In a third, four women, who had been left on board a captured ship as pawns. (i) The numbers in the Defenter's town are considerably reduced, partly by kidnapping. In all the neighbouring countries also, kidnapping is declared by many witnesses to abound. (k) Free-booters, says one, infest the parts lying between the

(b) See page 97. (c) p. 98. (d) p. 146. (e) Ibid.
 (f) p. 116. (g) p. 117. (h) Ibid. (i) p. 111.
 (k) p. 103.

coast and the Foulah country ; so that the man who brings down slaves to the sea side is often kidnapped himself on his return home, and sold to the same factory, to whom he had been selling others. In the (1) Sufee country, says another, kidnapping is frequent. In the Mandingo country mothers dare not trust their children out of their sight after sun set, for fear of the kidnapers. The reason of its general prevalence is obvious ; (m) debts, as was before observed, produce kidnapping : the impunity of the crime, through the facility of disposing of the victims, produces kidnapping. Wars also produce kidnapping : “ (n) I “ myself, says one chief, used during a five “ years war to waylay and kidnap passengers : “ but this I own was a bad thing, justified “ only by the necessity I was under of having “ some thing to give to the slave factories, for “ the purchase of more ammunition.” To all these instances are to be added the more than ordinary ravages ascribed to the Proprietor of a neighbouring island, (o) who made it his practice to sweep away the inhabitants of whole towns by treachery, when he had made them intoxicated, and of whom even the slave-factor complained that he used to ravage without distinction.

These are the four sources from which the slaves furnished from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone appear to have been supplied ;

(1) See page 104. (m) p. 112. (n) p. 106. (o) p. 127.

nor do the Directors conceive that any considerable number can have been obtained from these parts, by any less exceptionable means. Indeed it is reasonable to presume that a multitude of atrocious acts have happened at Sierra Leone, in consequence of the slave-trade, which have been perpetrated in secret, or kept back at least from the view of the Sierra Leone Company's agents.

The preceding account respects indeed those slaves only who have been furnished from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, and not the general body of slaves sold in Sierra Leone river, of whom much the greater part are brought down from the interior country. The Directors conceive, however, that no one can have any right to assume that the case of inland slaves differs essentially from that of slaves taken on the Coast: the injustice and treachery practised in taking them, and the scenes of private wretchedness resulting from their captivity, can hardly fail to be somewhat similar, in whatever part of Africa the scene be laid in which the cases happen.

Let then the whole aggregate of misery caused by the Slave Trade be contemplated; let it be remembered that what has been described is but a sample of the manner in which EIGHTY THOUSAND men are annually carried off from Africa, by the civilized nations of the world, and more especially by Great Britain; let all the variety of incidental enormities

mities which have been stated be brought to recollection ; let the blood spilt in (*p*) wars, let the cutting off of (*q*) slave ships, let the acts of suicide resorted to by the captives on ship-board, and of wild and bloody (*r*) vengeance, by the incensed natives on the shore, of which a few specimens only have been given, be borne in mind. Let all the moral evil chargeable on this trade be duly considered ; let the drunkenness, the treachery, the violation of all the natural feelings, through the selling of wives and children in discharge of debts or in exchange for liquor, let the depraved habits communicated as by contagion to (*s*) British captains, sailors, and (*t*) factors on the Coast, and the enormous cruelties to which some of them have been transported, be recollected ; above all, let the stop put to the Civilization of one fourth part of the habitable globe, and the guilt of hindering that light of revelation which has so long shone on Britain, from shining on the innumerable tribes who inhabit the interior of that vast continent, be added to the account ; and on the other hand, let the present miseries of Africa be contrasted with the blessings which might have resulted from a contrary conduct on the part of Great Britain ; from the introduction of Christianity, from the communication of European knowledge, and from that promotion of

(*p*) See page 106. (*q*) p. 130. (*r*) p. 141. (*s*) p. 129.
 (*t*) p. 136.

Industry, which is the sure result of an honest, innocent, and peaceful commerce.—Let all these considerations be put together, and the evil of the Slave Trade will appear indeed enormous ; its hindrance to Civilization, and its hostility to every principle that is professed by the Sierra Leone Company, become abundantly evident ; and the opening prospects of Civilization which are about to be stated will be seen to be important, not only in respect to their immediate consequences, but, on account of their furnishing also the most satisfactory evidence of the practicability of reversing that cruel system which as yet prevails in Africa, and a favourable omen of an approaching change in the general condition of that hitherto unhappy Continent.

The subversion of the iniquitous trade in slaves was one of the motives which led to the institution of the Sierra Leone Company ; and it is one of the objects to which those who have the management of its affairs, profess that their best endeavours shall be directed : they trust, however, that they shall not allow their detestation of the trade to excite in them any personal ill-will towards the individuals engaged in it ; and they feel a peculiar satisfaction in observing, that their government abroad, however their zeal in the cause of its abolition may have been excited by the scenes which they have witnessed, have at no time resorted either to any violent or underhand means of forwarding this object ; having

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neither

neither interrupted the slave-traders forcibly themselves, nor endeavoured to irritate either the natives or the Nova Scotians against them. It may be proper to add, that they have been far from encouraging any sailors who thought themselves cruelly used by their captains, or any slaves belonging to the ships, or to the factories, to run away to their settlement. Indeed, it is due to the Governor and Council to mention that they have acted with a peculiar degree of temper and moderation, on some trying occasions; labouring to compose differences, to promote harmony and peace, and to prevent all private acts of vengeance. They have also made a point of exercising equal justice towards the slave-traders, and have given proofs of humanity and kindness towards them. In particular, they have received and entertained the sick Europeans from the slave-ships, many of whom having been attracted to Freetown by the known salubrity of the air, or the expectation of getting good medical advice, have either been lodged in the houses of some of the settlers at the Company's expense, or gratuitously received into the public hospital.

As an instance of the impartiality of the Governor and Council, it may be observed, that a complaint of ill usage having been made against some of the natives, by the same slave-captain whose enormous cruelties on ship-board, as well as custom of seizing the natives on shore, have appeared from a conversation

verfation held with this perfon himfelf, which has been recited, the Governor and Council exerted their influence with the neighbouring head-man, to obtain a hearing of the cafe; in confequence of which the natives charged with having committed the infult, were brought before him; they however exculpated themfelves, the blame appearing to lie wholly on the fide of the fave-captain.

The following is an inftance of the protection afforded to a fave-trader by the Governor and Council, as well as of the care and prudence which have been exerted to prevent thofe acts of violence which arife out of the Slave Trade, from taking place on the Company's diftrict.

It has been ftated that an European fave-factor (u) fold a free native in his fervice, without the form of a trial, on a charge of adultery with one of his wives; the fale of this perfon gave rife to the outrage now to be defcribed. “ A French fave-factor who lives in
 “ a neighbouring part, having come on fhore
 “ on our fettlement, was met by a native,
 “ who accused him of having wrongfully fold
 “ to a fave-ship a free man (his brother) who
 “ had ferved the factor faithfully, as a free
 “ grumetta, during many years. The native
 “ proceeded to collar the Frenchman, and
 “ threatened to drag him to a neighbouring
 “ town, that the difpute might be fettled; I

(u) See page 114.

“ rescued the European with some difficulty,
 “ being determined to forbid all such acts of
 “ violence on our ground ; but while I was
 “ getting a boat in order to convey him out
 “ of the settlement, he fell again into the
 “ hands of the same native : by the help of
 “ the Governor and another principal servant
 “ of the Company, I rescued him again, and
 “ he got off in safety to his vessel. The
 “ Frenchman was so overwhelmed with ter-
 “ ror, that he fancied every one of us his
 “ enemies, and began begging that we would
 “ put an end to his life ourselves, and not
 “ give him up to be murdered by the savages.
 “ I was afraid of some interference of the
 “ Nova Scotians, many of whom were look-
 “ ing on during this scene, but they behaved
 “ very well ; in their feelings, however, they
 “ seemed to lean strongly to the side of the
 “ natives. I told them that before any stranger
 “ should be forcibly carried off from our dis-
 “ trict, we were determined that we ourselves
 “ would be carried off, and they were very
 “ much restrained by my holding this lan-
 “ guage. On the following Sunday our clergy-
 “ man noticed from the pulpit, how unbe-
 “ coming it would be if any stranger, how-
 “ ever culpable he might have been, who
 “ had come into the settlement imagining he
 “ was under our protection, should have his
 “ person seized while he was in it : the Nova
 “ Scotians approved of what was said. I after-
 “ wards made a complaint to the chief of the
 “ district

“ district in which the native who had col-
 “ lared the Frenchman lives, and received a
 “ formal apology for what had passed, being
 “ assured that no such outrage should be com-
 “ mitted in future. Soon after this, I found
 “ that the Frenchman had spread about a story,
 “ that the assault of the native had been inf-
 “ tigated by us, and had been altogether an
 “ affair of our contrivance. The poor man was
 “ certainly so terrified that he might not have
 “ been a judge of what passed at the time of
 “ the assault; besides, he would feel as a slave-
 “ dealer a strong prejudice against us : but I
 “ think I would submit to be again traduced
 “ by him rather than let any violence be com-
 “ mitted on our ground.” This slave-trader is
 the same man who instigated the drunken chief
 to commit an outrage on the person of one
 of the Company’s Captains, which he did
 very soon after his own rescue happened.

Although the Governor and Council, in
 conformity with the principles recommended
 to them by the Directors, have adopted this
 pacific line of conduct, some instances have
 certainly arisen of the Company’s inter-
 ference with the interests of the slave-traders,
 which the Directors fear may have been in-
 terpreted in some measure into acts of hos-
 tility, and become occasions of offence.

It is necessary to introduce the incident
 which the Directors are now going to men-
 tion, by premising that the legislatures of se-
 veral of the States of America have prohibited

the trade in slaves in certain cases under heavy penalties.

An American ship having arrived at the mouth of the Sierra Leone river, the supercargo, who appears to have been very little informed of the principles of the Sierra Leone Company, went hastily to the Governor and Council, and made an offer of selling them the whole of her loading for a cargo of slaves; observing that he would take no other articles in barter, and that he hoped they would favour him with all the slaves he wanted, in the course of a few days. One of the Council asked him how the American laws stood in respect to this trade. He said the laws of that part of America from which he came, prohibited it in his case, inflicting forfeiture of the ship, and one thousand pounds fine upon the captain: But, added he, nobody will inform.' It was answered to him, 'Indeed, sir, you are mistaken; I myself shall inform if none else undertakes to do it.' 'I hope, sir, said the supercargo, you will not do so unfriendly a thing.' 'I would rather, replied the member of Council, prevent evil than punish it; and I therefore give you warning, that if you carry off a single slave from this coast, you shall find an information lodged against you in America.' The supercargo then declared that what had dropped from him had not been spoken in earnest, and that he had a great
abhor-

abhorrence of the Slave Trade. The American ship appears to have quitted Sierra Leone River immediately after this conversation, to the obvious prejudice of the slave-factories in that quarter.

The Directors have received from Sierra Leone, a list of all the American vessels which have been known to transgress the laws of their country, and they are taking measures for conveying to the several legislatures, whose authority has been insulted, sufficient evidence of all the circumstances which may tend to the conviction and punishment of the offenders.

One other step taken by the Directors with the view of limiting, if possible, some of the excesses of the Slave Trade, may be worthy of mention. When the information arrived of the sale of all the free-mariners found on board the captured French ships, it was accompanied with an intimation of some doubt having arisen in the minds of the Company's servants abroad, whether they ought not to have taken on themselves the redemption of these injured men: it was imagined that the price paid for their liberty might be recovered in England, by an action of debt against the British subjects who sold them. On the other hand, it was obvious that much expense would accrue from sending over all the necessary witnesses from Africa; that there was also danger of failing

in some point of legal evidence, and that there must be a variety of uncertainties attending such a business: the Governor and Council were therefore, on the whole, afraid of adopting this step. The Court of Directors, however, on taking into consideration the various advantages that might arise from an avowal of their determination to interfere in future cases of this sort, thought it right to send out instructions, that if, in certain cases which they specified, any neighbouring native should be unjustly sold hereafter as a slave, either to or by any British subject, the Governor and Council were to consider themselves authorized to pay the price of such person's redemption, if no other means of restoring the captive to liberty should be afforded. The communication of this intelligence to several of the neighbouring chiefs, is said to have given considerable satisfaction.

The Directors having thus spoken of the steps which they have taken tending to prescribe some limits to the Slave Trade, and either to prevent or remedy a few of its greater enormities, so far as concerns the immediate neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, will proceed next to describe some of the direct efforts which they have made to set on foot plans of Cultivation and industry, and to prepare the way for the introduction of Christianity and Civilization into those parts
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of Africa where they have any influence. The obstacles which the Slave Trade has presented to the designs of the Company, will again necessarily appear in treating of this topic.

It is obvious that one of the most effectual means of promoting the Civilization of Africa, must be that of attempting to gain over some of the principal kings or chiefs, to this great cause. If any chief situated in the neighbourhood of fertile land, over which he has an undisputed right, and having already grumettas under him, could be persuaded to turn the labour of his people to the regular cultivation of the soil ; if he could be induced for instance, to take an European planter into his service, and to commit to him the direction of such industry as the chief could command ; if he could be persuaded also to protect and entertain a school-master, or missionary, who might converse freely with the chief, and become an instructor of all the surrounding people, a friendly connection and intercourse being at the same time established between the native in question and the Sierra Leone government ; it can hardly be doubted that, under the auspices of any well-disposed African uniting these advantages, the work of Civilization might advance with a rapid step.

The Directors will here state the several obstacles to the adoption of any plan of cultivation by the native chiefs, which, under
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the present circumstances of Africa, must naturally be expected to arise.

It has been already noticed, that the kings and head-men in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone universally deal in slaves. Many private slave-traders have raised themselves into chiefs by means of this traffic, and all the more regular chiefs have become more or less dealers in slaves also; the difference between a chief, or king, who is also a slave-trader, and a slave-trader who has raised himself into a chief, being principally this, that the king is the less powerful of the two, and is commonly also in debt to an European factory, to which he is therefore subservient; whereas the slave-trader is often rich and independent, having many head-men in his debt, who are consequently reduced into subjection to him. The difficulty of interesting the African chiefs in schemes of cultivation, is a point on which it cannot be necessary therefore to dwell; for it is obvious that, generally speaking, neither a king who is in league with a slave-factor, nor a chief who has acquired all that he has by the Slave Trade, can be expected to become the patron of a plan which has for its object the introduction of industry and the reformation of the manners of Africa. And indeed it may be added, that the Slave Trade presents, both to the chiefs and the inferior dealers, profits often so tempting, and attended also with so little trouble, that habits of regular application

application and labour seem not likely to be general in Africa, till this trade shall cease. On the other hand it may be important to remark, that the Slave Trade has served to initiate the natives into the use of European articles, some of which are considered among them even as necessaries of life. The taste which has been thus created, may therefore be reasonably expected to operate as an effectual spur to industry, as soon as ever that æra shall arrive, when Africa shall be required to give the produce of her land and labour, instead of her inhabitants themselves, in payment for these necessaries from Europe.

The large credits given in the Slave Trade may be mentioned also as an obstacle to any sudden dereliction of it, since they render it very difficult for those chiefs who might be disposed to turn their thoughts to cultivation to call in their capital.

The prejudices which many native chiefs at first imbibed against the Company, may be named as another hindrance to the adoption of any plans of cultivation suggested to them. The chiefs appear to have been taught to believe, that the Sierra Leone Company were about to become the general disturbers of the peace, by changing the customs of Africa; that they intended to usurp the power of the chiefs, and, in the end, to drive them from their own territory; and, in particular, it seems to have been reported every where, to be one immediate object

object of the Company, to encourage slaves of all descriptions to run away from their masters, by offering them an asylum in the settlement. It is obvious that this impediment to a good understanding with the chiefs, is to be considered as merely temporary.

Such are the obstacles which might have been naturally expected to oppose, and which have in fact more or less opposed, every attempt made by the Company to interest the African chiefs in plans of civilization and industry. They are obstacles however, which, though many of them still operate with the natives in general, have been overcome in several individual instances, as the Directors will have the satisfaction of shewing.

The circumstances which have enabled the Company occasionally to prevail over so many formidable hindrances are not difficult to be explained. It may be remarked in the first place, that there are a few natives of some consequence in Africa, who, though they owe their rise to the Slave Trade, never carried it on to any great extent themselves, but are the successors of deceased slave-traders, and are growing now less and less disposed to push that dangerous and bloody traffic, by which their property has been acquired. This is one description of chiefs from among whom the Company may be expected to make proselytes. To these may be added as many other slave-traders, or chiefs, (and they are likely to amount, in course of time, to

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no small number in the whole) who may happen to be thrown into some distress through the Slave Trade; who may lose a near relation or a friend through this traffic; or possibly having been redeemed from a slave-ship themselves, may become affected by the consideration of having narrowly escaped that fate to which they are in the habit of consigning others. Circumstances have already occurred at Sierra Leone, which have led the Directors to expect that some converts to the cause of the Company may, from time to time, be gained from persons coming under this description. Again, there may be other Africans who may be induced, partly at least by higher principles, to favour the Company; who may be led, in some measure, seriously to contemplate the miseries which the Slave Trade has brought upon their unhappy country, and may be prevailed upon, if a fair opening be afforded them, and the sacrifice required of them be not too great, to become the instruments of rendering the place of their own residence a scene of order and peaceful industry. Lastly, there may be some African kings, or chiefs, who, struck with the improvements which they may have beheld at Freetown, or having been induced perhaps to visit England, may return animated with the desire of imparting the blessings they have witnessed, to their native country; who may be induced, possibly by embracing Christian principles, to devote
their

their lives to the cause, and may stand forward as the chief promoters of the Civilization of Africa, and the zealous friends of the Company.

That one or other of the principles alluded to has actually operated on the minds of several very considerable chiefs, will be seen by the recitals which will now be given to the Court.

The Directors will introduce first, a quotation from the journal of one of their servants already frequently resorted to, which will describe an interview held with a neighbouring chief, about a year after the institution of the colony.

“ Having received some intimation of the
 “ prejudices against us subsisting in the mind
 “ of this chief, I began my conversation
 “ with observing, that I feared our engagements at home in the care of our infant
 “ colony, might have afforded time for interested men to spread abroad many reports to our disadvantage: that it was true
 “ we were not friends to the Slave Trade, but
 “ that our plan was peaceably to draw the
 “ natives from it, by setting before them
 “ other sources of wealth, and opening their
 “ eyes to their own true interests. He was,
 “ to a certain degree, civil and polite in his
 “ replies, but at first evidently far from
 “ cordial; he allowed that we had many
 “ enemies, and that he had been a good deal
 “ alarmed for his property. I then explained
 “ several

“ several parts of our conduct, which I
 “ found had been grossly misrepresented;
 “ and assured him, in particular, that it was
 “ not in the least our purpose to decoy slaves
 “ from their masters (as he understood it was
 “ our principle to do), and that if we did
 “ not seize and deliver them up when they
 “ run away to our settlement, yet we would
 “ neither willingly shelter them, nor give
 “ them employment. I offered education at
 “ Sierra Leone to any of his young people,
 “ and hinted that a seminary might be set
 “ up at his own place of residence, if he
 “ wished it. I then urged him to turn the
 “ labour of his grumettas to the object of
 “ cultivation, entering into long calculations
 “ upon it, and proceeded to set before him
 “ the many advantages he would derive from
 “ having his lands covered with cotton and
 “ coffee, instead of their being depopulated
 “ as heretofore by the Slave Trade. He
 “ was very inquisitive on this subject, and
 “ appeared rather to approve the plan, ex-
 “ pressing however a doubt whether he
 “ should find a market for his produce: I
 “ answered, that we would make an agree-
 “ ment to take it off his hands at a certain
 “ price. The conversation ended by his
 “ observing that my explanation was satis-
 “ factory, and that he wished success to
 “ the Company. I walked afterwards over
 “ some of the land of this chief, the soil of
 “ which is excellent: cotton grows in great
 “ abundance

“ abundance, and the true indigo is seen in
 “ several places.”

The Directors have the satisfaction of adding, that the disposition of this person to quit the Slave Trade and betake himself to cultivation, appears, by recent advices, to have been considerably strengthened; and some measures are stated to have been actually taken by him for this purpose. The obstacles which have retarded the adoption of the suggestions made to him by the Company, have been precisely such as might be expected; namely, his outstanding debts, which it has been found very difficult to get in, unless by accepting slaves in discharge of them; his experience of the profits of the Slave Trade, by which all his property has been gained, and his mind of course to a certain degree influenced; and his temporary prejudices against the Company. On the other hand, the humanity for which this African is distinguished, the growing liberality of his views, and above all perhaps the reduction which there has lately been in the demand for slaves through the war, as well as the late failure of mercantile credit in this country, seem at length to have operated on his mind so effectually, as to turn the balance in favour of a system of cultivation.

Another observation, to the praise of this respectable African, seems proper to be added. It might naturally be presumed from the circumstances

cumstances which have been stated, that at the time when he followed the Slave Trade, he would be likely to exercise as much humanity as could easily be made compatible with the prosecution of such a commerce ; and that he would probably therefore confine his purchases to slaves fetched from a distance, giving protection to the people round him, even while he was inconsiderately encouraging the atrocities of the interior country. The truth of this presumption is established by censures cast on him by the slave-traders. He is the very man (the successor of the mulatto chief) who was charged by the British slave-captain with having made him wait so long for slaves, being afraid to " make a haul " of his people, as " the fine fellow," his predecessor, used to do ; and whose town therefore, the British captain said he would have seized, " if his ship had been well manned," in order to teach this African trader " a proper degree of spirit." His want of the due qualifications for the Slave Trade has been likewise intimated by a British factor resident in that part ; for when the latter was asked, " Does the successor of the mulatto slave-trader take the same means of recovering debts (namely, by laying waste the towns of his debtor) which his predecessor did ? " The answer was, " *No, he is too easy.*" The Directors find in the journal sent home, a testimony from the mouth of a third British subject, no less to the praise of
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this African, the degree of peace and security which his mildness has introduced into the country round him, being intimated in words to the following purport: “ I remember the
 “ time (said this slave-factor who dwelt on
 “ a neighbouring island,) when, if I dis-
 “ patched a grumetta up the country with
 “ goods equal in value to one slave, I was
 “ sure to have him back with a couple of
 “ slaves in return for them within six days :
 “ but it will now take as many weeks to get
 “ the same number of slaves ; and yet I am
 “ obliged to give more money for my slaves
 “ than ever.”

The Sierra Leone Company owe the success they have met with, throughout the district they have now been speaking of, partly to the war, and partly to the remembrance of the miseries inflicted in the time of the mulatto slave-trader. They have derived a similar benefit from some recent experience of the bitter consequences of the Slave Trade in the following case :

A Mahometan chief has been mentioned, who redeemed from a slave-ship three of the free settlers from London, and who came down to the settlement with the view of obtaining the Company's assistance, in the recovery of a free-boy detained for a debt by a slave-factor. The following observations made by this Mahometan may properly be added in this place.

“ He

“ He said, that he had been taught to
 “ look on this settlement with a jealous eye,
 “ and had therefore hitherto avoided all
 “ intercourse with us, but that some recent
 “ misfortunes brought on him by the ma-
 “ chinations of slave-traders, some of which
 “ he particularized, added to what he had
 “ lately learnt respecting our conduct, had
 “ made him suspect the truth of what he had
 “ been used to hear concerning us, and that
 “ he was come to have his doubts cleared
 “ up. After some general conversation, he
 “ applied to me in the most earnest manner
 “ for my assistance in the recovery of
 “ Famarah, (a very considerable and distin-
 “ guished chief, carried off the coast some
 “ time since as a slave,) who had been his
 “ intimate friend, and for whom he felt
 “ deeply concerned. He afterwards spoke
 “ to me of the favourite free-boy, whom he
 “ had just lost, and by way of inducing me
 “ to exert myself in the recovery of these
 “ captives, he named his own interference in
 “ the redemption of our free settlers, for
 “ which he observed that he had been much
 “ blamed as well as laughed at by the slave-
 “ traders. Though I could give him little
 “ hope of being able to recover either of
 “ these two persons, through the difficulty
 “ of tracing them, he went away pleased on
 “ the whole with his visit. He was par-
 “ ticularly gratified by going with me to see
 “ the schools; ‘ If I were a younger man,
 “ said

“ said he, I should stay here always; but,
 “ as it is, I shall send my children.’ He
 “ also spoke of his having been driven,
 “ through the arts of a British slave-trader,
 “ to the necessity of quitting his native place
 “ of residence; but observed, that he lived
 “ now in a country affording some produce,
 “ which he should be happy to collect for
 “ us. I was much interested both by the
 “ conversation and manners of this visitor,
 “ who is about sixty years old, of a good
 “ appearance, with much benevolence in his
 “ countenance. His mind, which is na-
 “ turally sagacious, being now bowed down
 “ by his misfortunes, is more open to re-
 “ ceive impressions unfavourable to the Slave
 “ Trade than that of most of his country-
 “ men, and I trust we shall attach him to
 “ us.”

The Directors will next add a very en-
 couraging account of an interview with
 another chief.

“ I waited on the chief of this river, who
 “ is a person of considerable consequence;
 “ for though there are three kings in the
 “ neighbourhood, he is said to possess a
 “ powerful influence over them; and to have
 “ had the nomination of them all. I was
 “ surprised by the appearance of a man about
 “ ninety years old, still sensible and active.
 “ I acquainted him with the motives of my
 “ visit, and the general principles of the
 “ Sierra Leone Company. He entered very
 “ readily

“ readily into our views, assured me that he
 “ would take our traders under his protec-
 “ tion, and also favour us in respect to the
 “ customs of his river : he promised to send
 “ one of his boys to the settlement for edu-
 “ cation, and expressed an intention of visit-
 “ ing it himself in the ensuing dry season.
 “ He also offered protection to a missionary,
 “ or schoolmaster, if we would send him
 “ one, and said he would take care to make
 “ his situation comfortable. I have met with
 “ no one of the natives more liberal in his
 “ views, or more clear in his ideas and manner
 “ of conversation. He has divested himself
 “ wonderfully of all the African prejudices,
 “ ridicules without scruple the superstition of
 “ his countrymen, and particularly inveighs
 “ against the custom of sacrificing to the
 “ devil, who, said he, ‘ must be himself a
 “ creature of God.’ Although occasionally
 “ engaged in the Slave Trade, he seems to
 “ rejoice in the prospect of its abolition.
 “ Some years ago his town was destroyed by
 “ the mulatto slave-trader, and many of his
 “ people were carried into captivity ; he still
 “ waits an opportunity of revenging himself.
 “ ———We have suggested to him the follow-
 “ ing proposition ; that he should build on
 “ an island of his a house for a factory, and
 “ a rice-house, vesting in us the right of
 “ possession, and that he should furnish to a
 “ planter, whom we might send thither,
 “ labourers enough to clear and plant the
 “ whole

“ whole of the island. I think it is likely
 “ that our proposal will be complied with,
 “ and that a magazine may consequently be
 “ established for the produce of the neigh-
 “ bouring country, which is very rich, a-
 “ bounding with rice, stock, and camwood.
 “ If a schoolmaster, or missionary, should
 “ settle on the spot proposed for the planta-
 “ tion, he would of course find a consider-
 “ able population around it, provided the
 “ cultivation should be carried on with spirit ;
 “ and he would also be within one or two
 “ hours distance of several of the most popu-
 “ lous villages in these parts, to which he
 “ might occasionally migrate.”

A very favourable specimen of the African
 character, and a most pleasing proof of the
 practicability of introducing various Euro-
 pean improvements into that continent, are
 afforded by the following incident :

“ A ship of ours arrived lately from the
 “ river Gambia, with five natives in her ;
 “ one of them, of the name of Cuddy, is a
 “ chief, and principal trader residing there ;
 “ his figure and appearance are very pre-
 “ possessing and singular ; he is well made,
 “ and about six feet three inches high : his
 “ manners are civil and unconstrained, and
 “ his face is the picture of benevolence. He
 “ is at the same time modest and diffident,
 “ and afraid of saying a word by which he
 “ may offend against the truth. He was
 “ dressed after the fashion of his country,
 “ and

“ and was uncommonly neat and clean, but
 “ despised finery. He has risen much in
 “ my esteem during the fourteen days which
 “ he has just been passing in my house, and
 “ all the officers of the Company, as well as
 “ the settlers, have been uncommonly pleased
 “ with him. The circumstance in his cha-
 “ racter which gratified me the most, was,
 “ that whatever he saw, he seemed to con-
 “ template chiefly with the view of turning
 “ it to the advantage of his country. He
 “ has been using the greatest assiduity to
 “ prevail on some of the Nova Scotia settlers
 “ to accompany him back to the Gambia,
 “ in order that they may instruct his country-
 “ men in their arts; and has succeeded in
 “ procuring a good carpenter to go with
 “ him, who is to build him a house, and
 “ make him some ploughs and utensils for
 “ husbandry. The carpenter understands
 “ making looms also, and Cuddy has it much
 “ at heart to introduce a broad loom among
 “ his people. He has persuaded another
 “ man to embark with him, who under-
 “ stands ploughing, and can make shingles,
 “ and other useful articles. Cuddy having
 “ long entertained a predilection for the
 “ Company, has always shewn great kind-
 “ nefs to their servants, when they have
 “ been in the Gambia, and he has built a
 “ little town on the sloop side of that river,
 “ to which he has given the name of Sierra
 “ Leone. Being curious in natural pro-
 “ ductions,

“ductions, he shewed to our botanist several plants growing here which are useful in dying, and in particular a tree which is used in the Gambia for making the indigo more durable.”

The Directors will in the next place treat more particularly of the interior country. The chief information which they shall offer on this subject, will be comprized in a narrative of a journey lately undertaken into a large neighbouring kingdom by two of the Company's servants.* The Directors have not introduced into the preceding parts of this Report any article of intelligence gained in this expedition, since they conceived it to be desirable that all the chief circumstances relating to it should be presented at one view to the Court.

Information having been brought to the Governor and Council by some natives of

* It may be proper to remark, that the account of this expedition, as well as a variety of other matter introduced into this and the preceding chapter, was not inserted in the Report read to the Proprietors. Advices from Sierra Leone, dated the 6th of September, 1794, had been received at the time of sending the present Report to the press, which have furnished much additional intelligence. These recent accounts are in almost every respect more favourable than any which had preceded : they convey, nevertheless, information of a disturbance having arisen in the colony, through the violence of some of the most disaffected and mischievous of the Nova Scotians ; but the ring-leaders having been taken up, or having left the settlement, and the utmost tranquillity prevailing at the time when the last dispatches came away, which were dated seven or eight weeks subsequent to the tumult, the government appear to be fully persuaded that there is no reason to apprehend any permanent or material ill consequences.

the

the Foulah country, that the king of the Foulahs, a large and powerful nation, § to the north-east of Sierra Leone, had expressed a desire to form an intercourse with the colony, two gentlemen in the Company's service † offered to make an attempt to penetrate through a large, and as yet unknown tract of country, to his capital. They accordingly sailed to the river Rionunes, which is to the north of Sierra Leone, obtained the necessary interpreters and guides at the town of Kocundy, which lies a considerable way up the river, and then set out on foot in a party of about twenty persons. They mention, with much thankfulness, their obligations to some slave-traders in the neighbourhood of Kocundy, and in particular to a mulatto trader, who was of considerable use to them in their setting out.

It appeared in a short time after their leaving the Rionunes, that a considerable intercourse subsisted between the interior country and the upper parts of the river; for no less than five or six hundred Foulahs were often seen in one day, carrying great loads of rice and ivory on their backs, which they were about to exchange for salt. The travellers

§ There appear to be several independent tribes or nations of Foulahs in Africa, of which this is probably one of the most considerable.

† The Persons who made this expedition were Mr. James Watt, already spoken of, and Mr. Winterbottom, brother to Dr. Winterbottom, the physician to the colony.

found as they went forward, a number of successive towns, distant in general six, eight, or ten miles from each other, in which they were always most hospitably received; the utmost satisfaction as well as surprize being expressed at the appearance of white men, of whom none had ever been seen even at the distance of a few days journey from the coast. After travelling for sixteen days, through a country barren in many parts but fruitful in others, and remarkably full of cattle, and after passing two or three small rivers, one of which was said to empty itself into the river Gambia, they arrived at the town of Laby, which is distant about two hundred miles, almost directly eastward or inland, from that part of the river Rionunes from which they set out on foot. Here they spent three or four days, being most cordially received by the chief or king of the place, who is subordinate to the king of the Foulahs. Laby is about two miles and a half in circumference, and is supposed to contain not less than five thousand inhabitants: the state of civilization is much the same here as in the farther part, which will be described shortly. From Laby they proceeded towards the capital of the Foulah kingdom, called Teembo, which is seventy-two miles further inland, and having experienced every where the same hospitality, they arrived there in the course of another week.

During fourteen days which they passed
in

in the capital, they had many conversations, through the medium of interpreters, both with the king and with a person who acts as deputy to the king in his absence, and with many other principal persons. . It appears that the country subject to the king of the Foulahs, is about three hundred and fifty miles in length, from east to west, and about two hundred miles in breadth, from north to south; and that the king exercises a very arbitrary power, both in respect to the punishment of offences, and many other points, and, in particular, that he opens and shuts up the markets and channels of trade just as he pleases. The town of Teembo is supposed to contain about seven thousand inhabitants, and the superiority of the people of all these interior parts, to those on the coast, is great, in most branches of civilization. The houses here and at Laby, as well as at some other places, are occasionally spoken of in the journals from which this narrative is taken, as very good. The silver ornaments worn by some of the chief women, are said to be equal in value to 20l. There are people at Laby and at Teembo, who work in iron, in silver, in wood, and in leather, and there is a manufacture of narrow cloths. The chief men are furnished with books, of which the subject is generally either divinity or law; and the art of reading is common over the country, there being schools for the instruction of children established

ed in almost every town. Horses are commonly used by the chief people, who are said to ride out often for their amusement, and a species of horse-race or coursing occurred, at which the king invited the two strangers to attend. The soil is generally stony; much of it is pasture; rice is cultivated in some parts, chiefly by the labour of the women, the men, a great proportion of whom are slaves, carrying away the produce on their backs. About one-third of the country is said to be extremely fertile; the soil is dry, and the climate is thought very good. The nights and mornings were sometimes cold, and the thermometer was once as low as 51 at half past five in the morning, but it rose to near 90 at noon. The professed religion of the country is Mahometanism, and there are many mosques; but neither the priests nor people appear to have much bigotry in their minds, though they do not fail to observe the Mahometan ceremonies, praying five times a day. The punishments which the king inflicts are severe, especially in the case of disrespect shewn to his own authority; but it appears that no Foulahs are ever sold as slaves either for debts or crimes, and kidnapping seldom occurs, being probably not very practicable in the heart of the country. The Foulahs however have been used, till lately, to carry on a very considerable Slave Trade by means of their wars; for they go to war avowedly for the purpose
of

of getting slaves, one of the tenets of their religion, which permits them to destroy all whom they term infidels (a term which seems to include all their neighbours),* affording them a convenient apology for every exercise of this horrible injustice. The servants of the Company appear to have lost no opportunity of inveighing against the wickedness of these wars, and of inculcating the principles which govern the Sierra Leone Company on the minds both of the king, the chief priests, and other principal persons, as the following passages from one of the journals will sufficiently prove.

“ In the morning I had a visit from the
 “ deputy king, who told me with a degree
 “ of openness which shocked me, that the
 “ sole object of their wars was to procure
 “ slaves, as they could not obtain the Euro-
 “ pean goods they wanted without slaves,
 “ and they could not get slaves without fight-
 “ ing for them. I mentioned rice, ivory,
 “ and cattle, but he answered that they could
 “ not obtain a sufficient supply of the articles
 “ they most needed, in return for produce,
 “ since the factories would not furnish them
 “ with guns, powder, and cloth, which they
 “ considered as the chief necessities, for any
 “ thing except slaves. I told him, that by
 “ following a trade in produce, they might
 “ become rich without going to war for
 “ slaves, a thing which must certainly be
 “ very offensive to that God to whom they
 “ prayed—

“ prayed five times a day. “ But these people on whom we make war, returned he, never pray to God : we do not go to war with people who give God Almighty service.”

In an interview with the king himself the following conversation occurred :

“ After having stated the views of the Sierra Leone Company, I took the liberty of remarking how wicked it was for one nation to destroy another. If these people, said I, have not so much knowledge as you have, you should endeavour to instruct them. There were present besides the king, the head priest and the chief minister, and they all suffered me to proceed without interruption ; I was surprized at their attention ; they all acknowledged the truth of what I said, and the king observed, that if he could get guns and powder and every thing else he wanted, for ivory, rice, and cattle, he would soon have done with the Slave Trade. I told him, that if once the people of Africa knew the Sierra Leone Company perfectly, I was sure the wars would cease, and the nations of Africa would be at peace with their neighbours. They all said, they believed so too.”

The following is the substance of a conversation which occurred the day after :

“ I waited on a head-man who had desired to see me : I found him writing, but he
“ quickly

“ quickly laid aside his work. I had much
 “ conversation with him similar to that which
 I held with the king the night before. He
 “ defended for some time their religious wars,
 but at last rather yielded, admitting that
 “ they must be displeasing to God : he still
 “ said, however, that their book desired them
 “ to make war on every nation who would
 “ not do God service. I replied, that there
 “ might be many good things in their book,
 “ but that I was sure that passage had been
 “ put in by the devil. God was so good
 “ and merciful himself, that he must hate
 “ every one that was so cruel as to destroy
 “ his fellow creatures. The head-man did
 “ not hesitate to say, that if the Foulahs
 “ could get the articles they wanted without
 “ going to war, he would then believe that
 “ going to war was offensive to God ; but,
 “ said he, if we cannot get these things
 “ without going to war for them, God then
 “ cannot be angry with us for going to war,
 “ especially as it is so in our book.”

One other circumstance respecting the Slave
 Trade, more lamentable than any which the
 Directors have yet mentioned, must be added
 in this place. The deputy of the king, after
 stating that the wars of the Foulahs were
 undertaken solely for the purpose of getting
 slaves, said also, “ *that the old men and old*
 “ *women who were captured in these wars,*
 “ *and who were known to be unfaleable, were*
 “ *put to death.*” These are the words used

in the journal of * one of the Company's servants; the journal of the other represents the deputy of the king as saying, that the Foulahs "*cut the throats*" of the older captives, and it proceeds to mention, that when the cruelty of the practice was inveighed against, he replied, that it was not so cruel as letting the old people starve to death, adding also, that the nations on which they made war, would not scruple to do the same.

That this enormous effusion of blood is another evil, in addition to those before enumerated, which is directly chargeable on the Slave Trade, the several quotations now given seem completely and distinctly to prove; and on the other hand, that no similar effusion of blood can be supposed to happen, even among the same people, in the case of able-bodied slaves returned or withheld for want of a market, the recital of the following circumstances will shew no less indisputably.

It has been already noticed, that by the breaking out of the war with France, a very great and sudden check was given to the Slave Trade on the coast. It appears from the journals of this expedition, that the influence of the European war was no less strongly felt in these interior regions. The wars of Teembo ceased about this period: the price of slaves at the sea-side, fell from 160 to 120 bars. The king of the Foulahs in order to

* Mr. Watt.

bring the slave-traders to terms, forbade all his subjects to carry slaves to the coast, until 160 bars should again be offered, and the consequence of the slaves having been thus withheld (a few smuggled ones excepted) is stated in the journal to be, that the Foulah country had become full of them.*

It has been mentioned in one part of the preceding body of information concerning the Slave Trade, that the Foulahs (who were at the same time also stated to be known to go to war for slaves) were often kidnapped before they could return from carrying their captives down to the factories, by the freebooters who infest the coast. This intelligence is confirmed by the following incident, which, however, is not the only one occurring in this journey that might serve to establish the same point.

An old man called on the travellers when they were at Teembo, and begged them to make inquiry after his son, who with six others, some of them relations of the king, had been seized in returning from the river Riopongas, about four years ago. They had been sold to the British slave-factor at the Isles de Los, and immediately shipped off, one only excepted, to the West Indies: by the Foulah king's interference this one was recovered: the old man said, there was no ransom that he should not be willing to pay

* The journal indicates, though not very distinctly, that they were put to work.

for his son.* The writer of the journal adds,
 “ I assured him, that the Governor of Sierra
 “ Leone would feel almost as much pleasure
 “ in restoring his son, as the father himself
 “ could feel in seeing him return, and that
 “ we should spare no pains in inquiring after
 “ him. At hearing me say this, the old man’s
 “ eyes glistened, and he left me, blessing both
 “ the governor and myself, and assuring me
 “ that he should pray for me.”

The Directors have the satisfaction of observing, that the two travellers appear both by the propriety and consistency of their own conduct, and by the public declarations which they made of the principles which governed the conduct of the Sierra Leone Company, to have ingratiated themselves much with the natives, and to have peculiarly possessed themselves of the confidence of the chief people. The king being asked whether he should be willing to encourage any European to settle near him with a view to cultivation, readily answered, that he would furnish him with land, and cattle, and men for the purpose. Much conversation passed at different times concerning the introduction of the plough, of which no one had ever heard in the Foulah country. The king of Laby offered to

* Two of the persons sold are said to have borne the name of Omar, another is called Hamadoo, and another Bubarcarrie ; two others are mentioned under the name of Hamodoo, one of whom was the son of this old man. The Directors have introduced their names with a view of promoting their redemption.

send a son to England for education, and a principal priest expressed some willingness to do the same. Diligent inquiry was made both at Laby and Teembo, concerning the route to Tombuctoo, a town in the heart of Africa, supposed to be of the first magnitude, to which some adventurers from the Association instituted for promoting Discoveries in the interior of Africa, have attempted to penetrate. It was said at Laby that a free communication subsisted with Tombuctoo, of which the distance however was described to be no less than a four months journey; six kingdoms intervening between the country of the Foulah king and that of the king of Tombuctoo.* The kingdom of Genah, the nearest of the six to Tombuctoo, and that of Tombuctoo itself, were spoken of as richer than any of the others that were named. The city of Cashna seems also to have been known at Laby, but the route thither was described as hazardous.

On leaving Teembo, the Company's servants thought proper to return by a different and rather more dangerous path; they were escorted however by a large body of Foulahs, sent at the command of the king; the number of these amounting, during part of the journey, to no less than five or six hundred. When this body of people arrived on the borders of

* The nearest to the Foulah kingdom is Belia, the second Bouria, the third Manda, the fourth Segoo, the fifth Soosundoo, the sixth Genah.

the Sufee country, which it was necessary for the travellers to cross in order to reach the sea by this path, a suspicion arose on the part of the Sufees, that the Foulahs were come to make war against them, under the pretext of conducting white men to the coast ; on which occasion the Foulahs exhibited to the Sufees some goods and slaves which they had with them, as a proof that they could have no design of making war, and succeeded in removing the suspicion ; inasmuch that it was determined at a meeting of Sufee chiefs, held in a neighbouring town of the Sufees, not only that the travellers, and the party with them who wished to proceed to Sierra Leone, should be permitted to pass, but also that the path through the Sufee country, which former wars had shut, should become permanently open.

Four or five considerable persons from the Foulah king, and from other kings and chiefs, together with their suite, came down to Freetown with the white travellers and passed a few days there, arranged some plans with a view to a commercial intercourse, and returned full of admiration of what they had seen, and gratified in the highest degree by their visit. It has since been learnt that the Foulahs who came on this embassy, have got back to the borders of the Foulah kingdom, where their countrymen who came to meet them were so much interested at the first recital of what had been heard and seen at Sierra Leone,

Leone, that the party were kept together in conversation till day-break.

The success attending the journey which has been just described, has encouraged the idea of another and more important enterprise, upon which one of the travellers into the Foulah country, and another person in the service of the Company, were, according to the last accounts, likely soon to enter. Their main object will be to penetrate to Tombuctoo, and the route taken will probably be that of the Foulah country. If the travellers should reach Tombuctoo, it will depend on the information which they will there receive, whether they shall trace back their steps southward to Teembo and Sierra Leone, or shall return directly westward towards the Gambia, or attempt to pass on through the middle of the continent of Africa, to the Mediterranean.

The Directors have had the satisfaction of learning, not only that wars have ceased in the parts near to Sierra Leone, since the stagnation of the demand for slaves; but that distant places on the coast, having felt the same declension of the Slave Trade, have also enjoyed an unusual degree of peace. The very respectable and intelligent native of the name of Cuddy, from the distant river Gambia, mentioned, when he was at Freetown, that there were no longer any wars in any part of his neighbourhood, and that the few

slaves sold there, the number of whom was diminishing daily, came from the remote country of Gallam. He is said to have added the following words: "What should a man
 " go to war for now? There is nothing to
 " make people go to war: no price for slaves
 " —no ship to take them—no goods to give
 " for them! Suppose ships come plenty,
 " aye, then people go to war again!"

The declension of the Slave Trade in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, appears from many proofs to have been very great. The Governor and Council suppose, that not more than one-fifth of the usual number of slaves are now carried off the adjacent Coast. The French slave-factory near Freetown has been already mentioned to be relinquished, and an individual British slave-factor has been also stated to have removed himself from Sierra Leone river. One of the chief neighbouring factories, situated in the Isles de Los, is on the point of being given up also. The slave-factory of Bance Island, the only one remaining either in the river Sierra Leone or in its immediate neighbourhood, is thought to apply itself more than formerly to the collection of produce, having also set on foot a cotton plantation, worked by native labourers, a measure which the institution of the Sierra Leone Company appears to have suggested. A slave-factor, of the name of Wilkinfon, has declared that he will quit the trade, and has asked leave to transfer his
 property

property (amounting to about two thousand pounds) to Freetown, offering to conform himself to all the laws of the colony, if he should be permitted to settle there. *

The Governor and Council appear to have taken some pains in inquiring what has been done with the slaves who have either been withheld or returned through the want of purchasers, and what would be likely to be their fate on a total abolition of the Slave Trade. A respectable chief from Port Logo, an upper branch of the Sierra Leone river, being asked whether refused prisoners were killed, he answered, “ No, that is never done in Port Logo; we carry them home and make them work.”—— “ But will they not run away ?”—— “ If they do, we can’t help that, we can’t kill them. If a man is too old to sell, he is too old to do you harm; what should you kill him for ?”—— “ Did you ever see any refused slaves killed ?”—— “ No; I am an old man, but I never saw that: if they do that in another country I don’t know that.”

“ Two other intelligent native traders, from the interior country, mentioned the great number of slaves now on the coast waiting for purchasers, and said they were at that time kept confined: they named one trader who had no less than two hundred in his possession. On being asked

* This person is since dead.

“ why they were not employed in cutting
 “ wood, planting rice, or some other em-
 “ ployment, he replied, that there might be
 “ danger of insurrection from so many being
 “ employed all together, and that they must
 “ therefore first be dispersed; besides, there
 “ had been no encouragement to cut cam-
 “ wood: they could not tell what our com-
 “ mercial agent, who was gone down the
 “ coast, might be able to effect in this re-
 “ spect. If the Slave Trade were to continue
 “ at a stand, they observed, that no more
 “ slaves would come from the bush (or in-
 “ terior country) and, indeed, that few came
 “ now. They said that the slaves would
 “ certainly not be put to death, for that no-
 “ body was ever put to death except in war
 “ or for crimes.”

“ A white factor also is named, who gave
 “ information, that scarce any slaves have
 “ been bought for the space of a year in that
 “ part of Africa which lies between Cape
 “ Vergo and Cape Mount, on account of
 “ the traders on the Coast having insisted
 “ that the price should be reduced about ten
 “ or twelve pounds. He stated also, that
 “ the natives, exasperated by the sudden
 “ lowering of the terms, had lately withheld
 “ their slaves entirely, and had employed
 “ them, particularly in the Susee and Man-
 “ dingo countries, in the culture of rice.”

The Directors will now add some observations on the general character of the natives; and they will introduce in the sequel some facts which will shew their friendly dispositions towards the Company, and also their capacity for instruction.

The account which has been given of several natives who have been peculiarly instrumental in forwarding the views of the Company, ought by no means to be considered as affording a sample of the common character of their countrymen. The natives of Africa, so far as the Directors have had an opportunity of judging, are, in general, superstitious in the highest degree; they believe in witchcraft, incantations, and charms, and they are hereby subjected to gross impositions, and are also led to the practice of many acts of cruelty, as well as of injustice: some of them add a number of Mahometan, or other superstitions, to their own, which they learn chiefly from travelling priests of the Mahometan persuasion, who abound in Africa, and make a trade of selling charms. The natives of Sierra Leone, and all the adjacent parts, offer occasional sacrifices to the devil. They believe in a God, but they appear to render him no stated worship; and though they entertain some vague notions of a future state, their faith seems to have very little influence on their practice. Polygamy is every where common, and the spirit of retaliation and revenge may be considered as
universal

universal. One of the most respectable and enlightened of the chiefs already mentioned, was said to be waiting for an opportunity of revenging an injury which he had received many years before, not from the man himself on whom he meant to wreak his vengeance, but from the predecessor of this person. It may be remarked of another individual, the most amiable perhaps of all the characters met with in the Foulah country, that after much conversation on the Christian religion, in the course of which he allowed it to be good in many respects, he expressly objected to the doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries, on the ground of its being a virtue not to be attained by man, and therefore not to be required of him. There are many varieties of national character among the Africans, some nations appearing to be more crafty, and some more uncivilized and savage, than others: nor can the distinctions among them be traced in all cases, either to the Slave Trade or to any local circumstances. The superiority of the natives of the Foulah country, and their great hospitality to strangers, have already sufficiently appeared; and on the other hand, it may be remarked, that the natives of the coast in general, but particularly those who live near the slave-factories, are much given to liquor, are suspicious of white men, crafty, and deceitful, as well as savage and ferocious: they are said likewise to be selfish, unreasonable, and encroaching.

In

In favour of the Africans it may be observed, that they are in general sensible of benefits received, and grateful for them; that they have much natural affection and feeling; that though occasionally violent they are not unmanageable; and that the energies of their mind (which some accounts given of the cutting off of slave-ships have already shewn to be very strong), though turned as yet to wrong objects, are capable no doubt of receiving a better direction. It may be added, that the Africans appear to be eager for knowledge, as well as religious improvement, and readily invite the teachers of Christianity; but this readiness, though it affords ample encouragement to the missionary, is obviously to be referred rather to a general principle of emulation and ambition, than to any approbation of the Christian doctrines, of which the natives are as yet ignorant. They appear to admit the wickedness of the Slave Trade, as much as they do that of any other criminal practice, pursuing the traffic for the sake of its profits, contrary to some glimmering light of their conscience, if not in direct defiance of their convictions.

A few quotations shall here be given, illustrating certain points in their character which have been spoken of.

It has been mentioned in an early part of this Report, that a charge of having caused the death of the late king Naimbanna's son was brought against the captain of the Company's

pany's ship who carried him over, in consequence of the groundless suggestion of a black. The following is a brief account of the circumstances attending this injurious charge. The black from whose suggestion it originated, had crossed the sea in the same ship with king Naimbanna's son, and had been offended during the passage, by the captain's urging him to do duty as a sailor; he had also seen the captain give some medicine to the patient, which was followed by a trifling sickness of stomach. It is supposed that his ill will may have therefore prompted him to form some suspicions to the prejudice of the captain, which were rashly communicated after his arrival at Sierra Leone to the relations of the deceased. Incantations were immediately resorted to, as the means of ascertaining whether the charge supposed to lie against the captain was founded or not. The dead body was given into the hands of a skilful necromancer, and being placed in an erect posture, it was successively asked, Whether the Sierra Leone Company — whether the governor—whether the physician—whether a servant of the Company who attended the patient, had caused his death. The corpse continuing motionless, it was then asked, whether the captain of the ship was the guilty person, on which the body is said to have given a nod of assent. A threatening letter was now written in the name of the relations, to the Governor and Council,

Council, in which compensation was asked for the murder, but it was handsomely intimated, that it was not the Company themselves, but some of the slave-captains who were supposed to have instigated the Company's servant to put the son of the king of Sierra Leone to death. The Governor and Council did not fail to resist the claim made upon them, but they were obliged to permit the calling of a palaver, at which a great concourse of armed natives attended. The debate was opened with great solemnity in the name of the mother of the deceased, by a neighbouring chief, who delivered himself in the Timmany language, stopping to let each sentence be interpreted as he went on. His speech was nearly as follows:—That the queen (the mother of the deceased) had no palaver against the Company, had no palaver against the governor, had no palaver against several others who one by one were named; but that the queen had a palaver against the captain of the ship, because he had poisoned her son with a cup of tea while he was at sea; that the queen demanded therefore the payment of 600 bars (near 100*l*.) which must be sent her immediately, and on this condition she would drop her intention of making war against the Company, and that the palaver would then be ended. It was added, that if the captain should presume to deny the crime now so clearly proved against him, he must be sent up to the town of the queen,

queen, in order to stand his trial by drinking red water,* according to the known laws of the Timmany country. 'The captain who was standing by, evidently felt some emotion at hearing the last article of the demand ; but a burst of laughter arising at this moment among the natives who stood round, made it sufficiently plain that they did not at all expect the captain's compliance. 'The Governor and Council insisted on calling evidence on the spot to remove the suspicion. The black who had first excited it was brought forward, and explained away all his former insinuations ; the innocence of the captain was established by many other witnesses, and the natives became evidently ashamed of their conduct ; and on the following day the queen herself came down to Freetown, professed the utmost confidence in the Governor and Council, and desired them to take another son under their protection. †

It

* It has been already noticed, that this trial of red water consists in making the suspected person drink a quantity of water with an infusion in it, which is supposed to be of a poisonous kind. If the unhappy object of suspicion is affected, as he often is, in a manner which the natives consider to be an implication of guilt, his brains are knocked out on the spot ; it often happens however that he dies, as in the instance before mentioned, of the immediate effects of the poison ; in either of these cases all his family are sold as slaves. Natives of the higher class are said frequently to survive these trials, and it is supposed that they find means to prevent the poisonous ingredient from being put into the water.

† The Directors wish not to fail in acknowledging any instance of friendly conduct in the slave-factories towards the Company ;

It is not easy to conceive how their imagination has been filled with extravagancies of the most weak and ridiculous kind. A notion is entertained that one of the islands in the river would sink under water, if the king of the neighbouring shore were to set his foot upon it. Another little island higher up the stream, is supposed to be the habitation of a legion of devils, and if any man should attempt to carry off from it the leaf of a tree, it is held, that his boat would infallibly sink in coming away, and that he would be drowned.

The following quotation presents a lamentable picture of extraordinary superstition and ignorance in the head-man of a neighbouring town.

“ I waited on this person and found him
 “ at dinner, a king (or chief) of the upper
 “ country being at the table with him, and
 “ also a Mahometan priest, whom he and
 “ the other chiefs of the parts adjacent are
 “ now employing in making grigris (or
 “ charms), and in assisting at their sacrifices
 “ to the devil. After dinner the head-man
 “ produced his mass book, and prayed for
 “ some time with seeming devotion; he ex-

Company; they are therefore desirous of remarking, that on the occasion of this injurious charge against their Captain, they were befriended by the Agent of the neighbouring British slave-factory; and they take this occasion of adding, that they have in general experienced every civility from the proprietors of slave-factories resident in England.

pressed

“ pressed great concern that he had not been
 “ able to meet with a Popish confessor for
 “ some years, but he told me of his having
 “ left orders, that as soon as ever he should
 “ die, two of his slaves should be sent to St.
 “ Jago, in order to urge the Romish priest
 “ there, to do every thing that might be
 “ necessary to smooth his way to heaven.
 “ He makes no more doubt of the power of
 “ a regular absolution, than he does of his
 “ existence, and he appears well acquainted
 “ with all the Romish superstitions ; but his
 “ tenets are strangely disguised by the union
 “ of these with the absurdities and idolatry
 “ of his own country. He at the same time
 “ said, that he was very anxious to promote
 “ the introduction of the gospel into Africa,
 “ and offered to engage in any plan that
 “ would promote it ; he proposed to give a
 “ house and land to any teacher or school-
 “ master that we might send, whom he told
 “ me that he would take under his own pro-
 “ tection. Amidst all this ignorance, he
 “ shewed a consciousness of the criminality
 “ of the Slave Trade, having spoken to the
 “ following effect on that subject : What
 “ more have I to do with the Slave Trade ;
 “ it is time that I should leave it off and set-
 “ tle my account with God : I am old and
 “ ought to think only of heaven.”

The several succeeding quotations will con-
 firm some points already touched upon, and
 will very fully shew the desire of instruction
 which

which prevails among the natives, as well as the good understanding which subsists between them and the Company.

A female mulatto has been mentioned, the mistress of a large town in the Mandingo country, who was once in England, and who passed a few days in the settlement. " She inquired much, when she was there, " of the state of slaves in the West Indies, " and was much affected at hearing that " slavery was not confined to the captives " sent off from Africa, but descended also to " their children ; she added, What must you " judge of me ; you must think me very " bad, for I have just been taking two slaves " to the neighbouring factory, and I have " left them there ; but I wish I could give " up the trade altogether."

It appears from some of the latest accounts, that the travellers, who went to the Foulah country, profited much on their return to Freetown by her civility, their route having lain through the town of which she is mistress. She has lately been learning the Arabic language, in order to extend her influence.

" During the palaver occasioned by the " death of the king's son, which was recently " spoken of, some of the chiefs who had " come to Freetown on the occasion, were " carried to see the schools, and were much " pleased with an appearance so novel to " them, as that of three or four hundred
n " children

“ children engaged at their books. A head-
 “ man of superior information, began im-
 “ mediately to enter into treaty with one of
 “ the teachers, wanting him to go up the
 “ country to instruct the youth of the town
 “ over which this head-man presided.” Some
 other applications almost exactly similar are
 mentioned.

Three or four Nova Scotians are said to be
 settled up the river, who have large plan-
 tations of rice, land having been given them
 gratuitously by the natives. One of this party
 of settlers is able to read, and a native who
 came down to Freetown, is noticed as having
 already, through his assistance, made some
 small proficiency in learning to read also.

The following extract from the official
 letter of the Governor and Council, will shew
 the measures taken on their part, with the
 view of giving instruction to the natives, and
 also the success which has followed.

“ You will see by the directions given to
 “ all the masters of our vessels, that we have
 “ missed no opportunity of inviting all the
 “ chiefs on the neighbouring coast, to send
 “ their sons hither for education, and the
 “ invitation has been uniformly received
 “ with expressions of satisfaction. A chief
 “ in the Rio Nunez has already sent his son
 “ hither, and several others from different
 “ parts only wait the approaching dry sea-
 “ son, to accept of our offers. In the towns
 “ belonging to the chiefs in this river, with
 “ whom

“ whom we are connected, there are very
 “ few children fit to be sent to school; the
 “ few that are fit, we have now with us,
 “ and some of them make a considerable
 “ proficiency in reading. We have promises
 “ of many more from the chiefs in the Bunch
 “ and Kokelle, (the upper branches of the
 “ Sierra Leone river), who are to come to
 “ us in the course of the ensuing dry season.
 “ We had anticipated your advice with re-
 “ spect to a school at the plantation on the
 “ Bulam shore: one of the teachers has
 “ agreed to reside there with his family,
 “ both as missionary and schoolmaster; and the
 “ custom has become already universal among
 “ the labourers on that side, to abstain from
 “ work on Sunday.” The Directors under-
 stand that there are now in the schools at
 Freetown, about twenty native children in
 all, a great proportion of whom are the sons
 of chiefs. It has been already noticed, that
 more than the same number of native chil-
 dren are under instruction on the Bulam side
 of the river.

The following very unhappy incident is
 mentioned with the view of shewing the re-
 markable confidence of one of the natives in
 the Company:—“ Soon after the commence-
 “ ment of the war, some shells which had
 “ been sent out, were about to be prepared
 “ for use by the acting engineer, who or-
 “ dered a Nova Scotian working under him,
 “ to put them near the fire, in order that
 o 2 . . . “ they

“ they might be dried. The Nova Scotian
 “ having done as he was desired, proceeded
 “ in the absence of the surveyor (or engineer)
 “ to load them, and a spark having got into
 “ one of them unperceived, the shell burst as
 “ he was filling it, killed him on the spot,
 “ and also killed the son of a neighbouring
 “ chief, left but a few days before for educa-
 “ tion. The father of the boy was sent for,
 “ who, though affected, was perfectly re-
 “ signed. Some of his words are said to be
 “ nearly as follows: “ Gentlemen, he was my
 “ only son ; I thought to have had him with
 “ you for his good, but God hath thought
 “ otherwise : I see it was an accident ; I do
 “ not blame you. Be not concerned about
 “ its happening here, had God wished him
 “ to live, he would have lived. In order to
 “ shew you that I feel no ill will on account
 “ of this misfortune, I shall send my daughter
 “ to be brought up in your settlement.”

A proof shall now be added of the good
 understanding that subsists between the natives
 and the Company, which cannot fail to afford
 peculiar satisfaction to the proprietors.

“ Two strange vessels having appeared in
 “ sight, which were suspected to be French,
 “ the neighbouring king, or chief, (the same
 “ person who caused the dispersion of the first
 “ colony, and also set on foot the palaver
 “ which impeded the former establishment of
 “ the present) sent a party of men to the as-
 “ sistance of the Governor and Council, with

“ a message that he was himself about to follow with a further force, and that if it should be necessary, he would raise the whole country in the colony’s defence. When it was found that the vessels were friendly, being prizes recently taken from the French, the natives who had come to Freetown went away saying, Well, your friends are our friends, and your enemies shall be our enemies.” The Directors have the satisfaction of adding, that the Company have hitherto been on very friendly terms with the surrounding natives in general.

To the preceding information received from Sierra Leone, respecting the general disposition of the natives, the Directors will add some observations on the character of an individual African, who was placed for eighteen months under their own care in England.

The late J. H. Naimbanna, son of the former king of Sierra Leone, when at the supposed age of twenty-four, was induced, by the suggestions of a free black belonging to the first body of settlers from London, to determine on going over to England, with the view of acquiring an education; intending to commit himself to the liberality of an English gentleman, to whom he had heard that the free black had been indebted for some degree of schooling. He was on the point of coming to an agreement with the master of a slave-vessel, who was to receive three slaves as the price of his passage through the West

Indies hither, when a ship sent out by the Sierra Leone Company to explore the country, arrived in Sierra Leone river. Having been brought by this vessel to England, he was placed under the care of two clergymen successively, who have furnished the chief part of the information concerning him, which will now be communicated to the Court.

A desire of knowledge was the predominant feature in his character. His instructors have mentioned that he would continually urge them to prolong the time employed in reading together. He was also forward in declaring his obligations to every one who would assist him in the acquisition of useful learning; he would express regret if he had been led into any company where the time had passed away without improvement; and when it happened that he was left intirely to himself, he would employ not less than eight or ten hours of the day in reading. Though the disadvantages arising from the long neglect of his mental faculties were apparent, he shewed signs of very good natural sense; he had also a faculty at distinguishing characters; and his mind, as might naturally be expected, was ready to receive impressions from those persons of whom he had conceived a good opinion. He had few advantages of person, but he was uncommonly pleasing in his behaviour, shewing much natural courtesy and even delicacy of manners; he was also of a kind and affectionate disposition. He was quick in all his feelings,

feelings, and his temper was occasionally warm, some degree of jealousy also entering into his character: in particular he was indisposed to answer questions put to him by strangers concerning the state of his own country; for he was apt to suspect that they meant to draw comparisons between England and Sierra Leone, unfavourable to the character of the latter, and he would therefore, on such occasions, often turn the conversation, by remarking, that a country so unfavourably circumstanced as Sierra Leone had hitherto been, was not to be supposed capable of having made any attainments worthy of being the subject of conversation in Great Britain.

The following anecdote will shew still more strongly the extreme sensibility which he felt, when any circumstance arose which touched the honour of his country; and it will also explain the grounds of his peculiar jealousy on this subject.

The name of a person having been mentioned in his presence, who was understood by him to have publicly asserted something very degrading to the general character of the Africans, he broke out into some violent and vindictive language against this person. He was immediately reminded of the Christian duty of forgiving his enemies, upon which he answered nearly in the following words: " If a man, said he, should rob me of my
" money, I can forgive him; if a man should
o 4 . . . shoot

“ shoot at me, or try to stab me, I can for-
 “ give him ; if a man should sell me and all
 “ my family to a slave-ship, so that we should
 “ pass all the rest of our days in slavery in
 “ the West Indies, I can forgive him ; but
 “ (added he, rising from his seat with much
 “ emotion) if a man takes away the charac-
 “ ter of the people of my country, I never
 “ can forgive him.” Being asked why he
 would not extend his forgiveness to those who
 took away the character of his country, he
 answered, “ If a man should try to kill me,
 “ or should sell me and my family for slaves,
 “ he would do an injury to as many as he
 “ might kill or sell ; but if any one takes
 “ away the character of black people, that
 “ man injures black people all over the world ;
 “ and when he has once taken away their
 “ character, there is nothing which he may
 “ not do to black people ever after. That
 “ man, for instance, will beat black men, and
 “ say, O, it is only a black man, why should
 “ not I beat him ? That man will make slaves
 “ of black people ; for when he has taken
 “ away their character, he will say, O, they
 “ are only black people, why should not I
 “ make them slaves ? That man will take away
 “ all the people of Africa, if he can catch
 “ them ; and if you ask him, But why do
 “ you take away all these people, he will say,
 “ O, they are only black people, they are not
 “ like white people, why should not I take
 “ them ? That is the reason why I cannot
 “ forgive

“ forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country.”

The improvement which he made during his residence in England, was in every respect considerable; though at the time when he arrived he laboured under the disadvantage of knowing but little of the English language, he learnt, in the space of the year and half which he passed in England, to read very fluently, and to write a letter without much difficulty. The alteration which, during the same time, took place gradually in his mind, was in the whole also very great. When he first landed he had most of the same peculiarities of character which have been ascribed to the Africans in general; he believed in witchcraft, and he had no idea of forgiving injuries; he had even endeavoured when he was in Africa to make himself, as he expressed it, as proud as he could. Before his departure from England, his pride, as well as his revengeful spirit, had evidently subsided, and were become wrong and odious in his eyes: his belief in witchcraft had entirely left him, and he appeared to feel a considerable degree of fear and diffidence, in respect to his own future conduct. His morals were pure, he had carefully abstained from drunkenness, even while he lived at Sierra Leone, and he shewed, when he was in England, a very strong abhorrence both of profane conversation and every kind of vice; as appeared more particularly about the time of his departure, from the evidence
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of some striking and undeniable facts. That his mind was impressed with religious principles, might be presumed, in some measure, from several of the preceding remarks: he paid great respect to the teachers of Christianity, whom he wished much to invite over to his country; he had also the utmost reverence for the Scriptures, with which he had become very conversant, and he would discourse on religious subjects with much openness and simplicity; he was at the same time free from enthusiasm. According to the account of the instructor with whom he passed the latter part of his time, he appeared to be improving in every respect, when the news of his father king Naimbanna's death arrived, and called him away suddenly to Sierra Leone. If the deplorable situation of his country, at the time when he left it, together with the change which had now arisen in his own dispositions and views be contemplated, it must be evident that many new duties and obligations would be likely to suggest themselves to his mind, and to excite a peculiar degree of anxiety when he was on the eve of his return. A few days before his embarkation, he conversed much with some of his friends in England, concerning the line of conduct which it would be his duty to adopt after his arrival at Sierra Leone; and it appeared that there was no personal sacrifice which, if the principles of Christianity

tianity required it, he was not prepared to make.

The Directors will here introduce an extract from the dispatches of their Governor and Council, describing some circumstances which arose during his passage, and giving the account of his death.

“ According to the information of a servant of the Company, who sailed in the same ship with him, he had left Plymouth in perfect health, but as soon as he reached a warm climate he began to feel a slight complaint in his throat, and occasional pains in his head; his mind was at the same time anxious and uneasy, for he was evidently dismayed at the prospect of those difficulties with which he expected that he should have to combat after his return. Numberless were the plans which he amused himself with devising, for the purpose of spreading Christianity, and opening the eyes of his rude countrymen; but he seemed constantly to be tortured by the idea that something would obstruct his designs, and the dread of disappointment seemed to press upon him more strongly in proportion as he drew nigh to his native shores; the heat also began to affect him very violently, and a fever ensued, which was attended with a delirium. In one of his lucid intervals, he desired the person
“ who

“ who gave this account, to assist him in
 “ making his will, by which he entrusted
 “ his property to his brother, for the use of
 “ a young child his son, and he introduced
 “ into the will an earnest request that his
 “ brother would exert every endeavour to
 “ put an end to the Slave Trade. When he
 “ reached Sierra Leone he was insensible of
 “ every thing that passed, and his life was
 “ despaired of. His mother, together with
 “ some younger branches of the family, came
 “ down to the Governor’s house, where he
 “ was laid, and, after a few hours attendance
 “ on his dying bed, they saw him breathe
 “ his last.” The Governor and Council
 mention that nothing could exceed the agitation and distress shewn by his mother on the event of his death.

Thus terminated the days of this amiable and enlightened African, from whose exertions, if he had lived, the Company might have expected the most important and extensive services. It may be remarked however, that, notwithstanding his untimely and much to be lamented death, he has rendered at least one important service to his country, by furnishing a memorable instance of the effect of education on the mind of Africans, and a most encouraging and happy omen in favour of his benighted countrymen.

Two Africans, of whom the eldest is about eighteen years old, are now in England, where

where they are receiving their education, under the directions of the Company; the one is the son of the present king of Sierra Leone; the other of a chief who lives very near to Freetown. The Directors will only remark concerning these young persons, that they advance regularly in their learning, and that although they are said to be different from each other in their tempers, they both appear to be fully equal to Europeans of their own age, in point of talents and natural understanding.

The Directors have now laid before the Court the whole of the information which they have to offer; they have stated briefly the history of the settlement, together with the expenses of establishing it, and the general situation of the funds of the Company. They have also spoken under distinct heads of the climate of Sierra Leone, of the measures taken with a view to trade, and of the progress made in cultivation, and, finally, of the opening prospects of civilization: they have had the satisfaction of shewing, in the concluding part of the last and principal head, that many chiefs on the African coast are disposed to co-operate in the general designs of the Company; that a connection is also courted by the Foulah as well as other nations; that some of the paths into the interior

terior of Africa, which had been closed through the wars, have been lately opened; that projects of further discovery have been set on foot; and that while all these promising circumstances have been taking place, the Slave Trade has been materially declining, several factories having been broken up, and many slaves, who have been returned, or withheld for want of a market, having been added to the productive labourers of the country.

From the advantages which have been reaped during this temporary declension of the Slave Trade, the Directors are naturally led to the contemplation of the blessings which are to be looked for on the event of its total abolition. Whenever that happy period shall come, when the peace of Africa, instead of being suspended as it is now on the event of the war in Europe, shall be more permanently secured and provided for through the final termination of this traffic, consequences very similar indeed to those which have arisen during the suspension of the Slave Trade, but far more important and extensive, are obviously to be expected: a still greater spring will then no doubt be given to African industry; the native chiefs, having no other means of supplying their want of European goods, will resort to regular trade and industry, not partially and as a matter of preference as they do now, but generally

generally and of necessity ; and the European slave-factories, which have been hitherto the greatest impediments to civilization, and the principal support of all the more dissolute kings and chiefs, will at the same time altogether cease.

When this æra shall arrive, an æra which the Directors can by no means allow themselves to consider as distant, it seems probable that the institution of the Sierra Leone Company may acquire much additional importance, and that the advantages of having already planted a British colony on the African coast, may prove to be extremely great. It will undoubtedly be then the duty of the Directors in all respects to avail themselves of the opportunities which will arise, both by extending their own commerce, by suggesting plans of cultivation to the chiefs, and by endeavouring also to establish schools, to supply instructors, and to promote the introduction of Christianity into Africa, so far as the influence of the Sierra Leone Company may reach.

The Directors will now close this Report, and they trust that all the circumstances stated in the course of it being duly weighed, they shall not be thought to have either failed essentially in the requisite exertions, or to have made an improper use of the confidence reposed in them by the Proprietors. The
anxiety.

anxiety of the Directors, and indeed their labour also, have been occasionally considerable; but these have been amply compensated by reflections on the magnitude of that cause in which they have found themselves engaged, and by the continually improving prospect of being able, by the blessing of Providence, to lay some foundation for the future happiness of a Continent, which has hitherto derived nothing but misery from its intercourse with Great Britain.

APPENDIX.

THE Directors think proper to introduce the following account of the Natural Productions of Sierra Leone, by way of Appendix, being the substance of two Reports made to them by Mr. Afzelius, their Botanist.

ANIMALS.

QUADRUPEDS.—Those which are tame and are used for food, are Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Ducks, Turkeys, and Fowls.

Cattle thrive well, and even grow fat, but not so commonly as in Europe. There are a number of Bulls, Oxen, and Cows grazing in the Savannahs.

Sheep assume a very strange appearance, changing their fine woollen coat into rough
P
hairs,

hairs, resembling that of goats: they seem to suffer from the heat, are commonly lean, and do not increase much. Gbats and Hogs, on the contrary, are very prolific, and grow as fine and as large as in any other countries. The settlement is supposed to be sufficiently stocked with these animals.

Fowls multiply to an amazing number; and Ducks, particularly Muscovy Ducks, thrive; but common Geese and Turkeys have not answered the Company's expectations, probably for want of proper management.

Porcupines, Wild Hogs, Squirrels, and Antelopes, may also be classed among the animals found at Sierra Leone fit for food. The skin of the latter appears to be proper for gloves.

Some few Asses, which have been sent to the colony, are made useful for the purposes of labour, and do not suffer by the climate; though they are not equal to Mules.

The Beasts of prey are Lions, Leopards, Hyænas, Musk Cats, and many kinds of Weazels, which last are very destructive of poultry. The skins of some of these might be of use in a commercial view. There are two species of Musk Cats at Sierra Leone, the Civet and the Zibeth Cat, from which an inferior sort of Musk may be obtained; the latter produces the better musk of the two.

To the article of Quadrupeds should be added the Japanzee, or Chimpanzee, common
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in the mountains, an animal more nearly related to the human race than even the Orang Outang. Of two that were brought alive into the colony, one died soon, the other being older lived some months. He was nearly two feet high, but those which are full grown are nearly five feet in height: he was covered with black hair, long and thick on the back, but short and thin on the breast and belly: his face was bare; his hands and his head resembled those of an old black man, except that the hairs on his head were straight: he ate, drank, and slept, and sat at table, after the same manner as a human being: at first he crawled on all fours, always walking on the outside of his hands; but when grown larger, he endeavoured to go erect, supporting himself by a stick, which he carried in his hand. He seemed to be of a melancholy disposition, but was always goodnatured, doing no person any injury. This species of Ape, although not entirely unknown in Europe, has usually been confounded with that of other Apes.

BIRDS.—Of these the Directors have as yet received no perfect account. It is mentioned that there is a Crane of an extraordinary appearance, which becomes very tame, and is reckoned very good food.

AMPHIBIOUS ANIMALS.—Of this kind there are Green Turtles, and those called Hawk's Bill, or Loggerheads, which are both very common, and sometimes of an immense
P 2
size,

size, weighing several hundred pounds. Fresh-water Turtles, and Land Turtles, are to be found at Sierra Leone; the latter in great abundance; and it is thought that they might be imported into England to good profit. Crocodiles, or Alligators, of a non-descript species, ten or twelve feet in length, have been found; and Lizards of six species, among which are the Guava and the Cameleon. Snakes are almost innumerable; they haunt the houses during the night in search of poultry, of which they are very fond; the largest yet discovered measured eighteen feet, which did not prove venomous, but was of that kind which swallow their prey entire.

INSECTS are very numerous; the greater part of them are exceedingly beautiful, and are non-descripts. The most remarkable are the Termites, which destroy wooden houses and fences; Ants, which destroy provisions; Cockroaches and Crickets, which destroy clothes, linen, and more especially leather; Musquitos, Sandflies, Scorpions, Tarantulas, and Centipedes; also wild Bees, which furnish plenty of wax and honey. The Vermes are little known; the Barnacles are very large, and injurious to vessels not copper-bottomed.

FISHES are in great variety, both in the sea and the river. The Spermaceti Whale has been occasionally found at Sierra Leone, but it is met with more frequently down the coast. Besides the Whale, as well as the Shark, Stinging-Ray, and Porpoise, there are
Eels,

Eels, Horse-Mackarel, Tarpoons, Cavillos, Mulletts, Snappers, Yellowtails, Oldmaids, Tenpounders, and some other fishes, all of which, except the Eels and Tenpounders, are esteemed fine eating. Oysters are found in great abundance. There is also another shell fish, which the natives use for food. Among the Zoophites none is more worthy of notice than the common Sponge, which covers all the sandy beaches of the Sierra Leone river, particularly those on the Bulam shore. This Sponge would fetch a high price in Great Britain.

VEGETABLES.

Of esculent vegetables Rice occupies the first place, as it is the chief of the plants cultivated at Sierra Leone, and the staple commodity of the country, forming, when boiled and seasoned with pepper, the principal food of the inhabitants, the lower class of whom subsist almost entirely upon it. Although this plant prospers best in low and inundated places, it will thrive also on elevated land, though in common with other plants of the aquatic kind, it will in that case grow smaller and thinner, producing at the same time better and more nutritious grain. Of this quality is the rice now found on the eminences of Sierra Leone, while on the plains of the Bulam shore, and other such tracts, it grows as luxuriantly as in Carolina, and if a proper apparatus were employed, it might by equal care, be rendered

dered equally white ; but at present, through the negligence of the natives, both the rice intended for their own consumption, and that for trade, retains part of the brownish bran, or rind. The Rice fields are prepared during the dry season, and receive the seed in the tornado season, which is antecedent to the rains ; but the seasons varying in different years, the time for sowing is irregular. In the year 1792, Rice was sown in June, and reaped in October.

2. Cassava, or Cassada. This constitutes, after Rice, the chief food of the inhabitants, and the culture of it requires time and care. It succeeds best in sandy and open places. In the course of three or four months after it has been planted the roots grow fit for use, and are often eaten in their raw state. The natives do not reap the whole harvest at once, but dig up a few roots as they want them ; but after the approach of the succeeding rainy season they clear the whole field, never extending their plantations beyond the supposed exigencies of a single year. The natives sometimes make cakes of Cassada, which though dry, are well tasted and extremely white : they also boil or roast this article. A kind of ale might possibly be prepared from it, as is done by the Arawaks of Surinam.

3. Yams. These resemble potatoes, and are a good substitute for them, being dry, farinaceous, and nutritious. Though elsewhere there are many species of Yams, there
is

is. but one in Sierra Leone; the largest root in the Company's gardens weighed only about four pounds, the soil being probably too hard for it. The natives do not bestow so much pains on the culture of Yams as on that of Cassada. The only way in which they, as well as the settlers, prepare them for eating, is by boiling and sometimes roasting them; but Yams might be made either into flour or starch; perhaps even a good spirituous liquor might be distilled from them.

4. Sweet Potatoes. These are good and useful roots, in no particular, however, resembling the true potatoes. The natives boil them, but in the colony they are roasted, and they are also made into a kind of bread, which is nutritious, and of a tolerably good taste. Sweet Potatoes thrive best in a loose soil, but the natives are as inattentive to the manner of cultivating them as to that of Yams. The leaves boiled make a good dish on the table, and afford an excellent nourishment for sheep, goats, or pigs.

5. Ground Nuts. These are eaten by the natives, either raw or roasted.

6. Eddoes. Though abundant they are not so much used as they deserve to be; the leaves, if they are young, are as good as spinnach; and the roots, when boiled, resemble chestnuts. They are fit for use when three months old, but are best after four or five months growth.

7 and 8. Country Potatoes of two different
 P 4 sorts;

sorts; namely, first, Ajuck, a round root, somewhat bigger than a hazel nut, found in abundance in low places, with a long stem, which creeps round it on the ground; its taste is better than that of sweet potatoes, and it is less solid. And secondly, Abunck, which grows on the branches of the tree in a strange manner, and is a singular excrescence of an irregular, angular, and tuberos shape. It tastes somewhat like Sweet Potatoes.

9. Oil Palm. A common, handsome, and useful tree, indicating a good soil. It supplies the inhabitants with oil, wine, and food. The wine in appearance perfectly resembles whey, has a good taste when fresh, but is apt to ferment and grow sour, and to change in three or four days to the strongest vinegar, of a disagreeable smell. It is collected by tapping the tree. The oil is obtained from the fruit, which is of the size of a hazel nut, consisting of a hard kernel, enclosed in a thick, fat, and oleaginous matter, covered with a thin skin, which dissolves and yields the oil, which is used by the natives by way of butter to their rice. This oil, though liquid at first, in a short time hardens, and turns rancid: a superior oil is made, though in small quantities, by bruising and boiling the kernels in water. The interior and medullary substance of the top of young Palm trees being boiled in water, forms a dish resembling Cabbage; the leaves serve the natives for baskets.

10 and 11. Plantains and Bananas. These grow very commonly, and are two useful trees, nearly related to the Palm. The fruit of the Plantains is larger than that of the Bananas, more regular, bent at the base, and fewer in each cluster, harder, and less luscious; it is eaten raw, boiled, or roasted. Bananas are among the superior fruits of this country, soft and sweet, and generally eaten raw: above one hundred grow in a cluster. The leaves are employed for various economical purposes; and the fibres of them are used in some places for thread.

12. Papaw. A fine fruit of a deep green, but when ripe of a yellow colour. This is eaten raw, but makes a good dish when boiled; the leaves are used for washing instead of soap, the hollow stalks for pipes, and ropes may be made of the bark. .

13. Guavas. Some green fruit of this kind has been discovered in a neighbouring bay.

14 and 15. Orange and Lime Trees. These are very common in their wild state, bearing ripe fruit throughout the year, though not in equal abundance at all seasons. The Oranges are excellent, and better, at least larger, than those brought to Europe. Some Lemons, planted a long time ago by the Portuguese in the neighbourhood of the settlement, have degenerated so much as almost to resemble Limes.

16. Pumpions or Pumpkins. These are to be found wild wherever the ground is loose;

loose ; some of them grow to the length of fifty feet, but the fruit, on an average, do not attain to the same size as in Europe, though they are more solid. They are used for pies and puddings, and may be had throughout the year.

17, 18, 19, 20. Squash, Water Melon, Cucumber, and Musk Melon. These four species arrive at the greatest perfection, and by proper care might be made to surpass those of European growth. The first settlers found on their arrival no Water Melons, but took the seeds with them.

21. Pine Apples. These are far better flavoured than those of Europe, but tougher in the middle. They are to be found all the year growing wild in the woods, and on declivities in the neighbourhood of water ; they are also planted by the natives near their towns.

22. Pigeon Pea. This is a good wholesome pulse, and is dressed in the same manner as English peas or beans. These peas grow wild in the skirts of woods, and in old Rice and Cassada fields, and may be had throughout the year.

23. Maize or Indian Corn. This is cultivated more on the Bulam shore than near Freetown ; it requires but three months to ripen it, so that several harvests are afforded in one year. The grain is boiled in salt water, or roasted in the ear and eaten with butter, but sometimes it is eaten raw. The natives

natives of the Gold Coast bruise it and make puddings of it. Goats and cattle eat the leaves with avidity.

24. Millet of two kinds. This is found wild and used for poultry; the stalks of the larger sort contain a sweet and refreshing juice.

25. Cocoa Trees grow in Sherbro, where they have been planted. The fruit is either eaten raw or made into pies.

26. Cashew Nuts, according to Lieutenant Matthews, were introduced by the Europeans, but none have been seen at Sierra Leone, except those brought over from the Bulam shore.

27. Okras. The fruit of a little tree resembling the English Seatree Mallows, very common at Sierra Leone. The pods put into soup render it gelatinous and highly nourishing; the leaves boil like Spinnach.

28. Sugar Canes. These have been found, though not in great quantities, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone; they are supposed to be of a good quality, and probably will thrive exceedingly, as soon as the land in which they have been planted shall have been some time in cultivation.

29. Butter and Tallow Tree. This is common in low lands about Freetown; it abounds with a juice resembling Gamboge in taint and durability, which exudes after the least laceration, and becomes more coagulated, viscous, and of a darker colour. The wood of this tree is firm, and seems adapted

to various economical purposes. The fruit is nearly oval, about twice the size of a man's fist ; the rind is thick, pulpy, and of a pleasant acid ; in the inside are found from five to nine seeds, of the size of a Walnut, containing an oleaginous matter, extracted by the natives, and used with their rice or other food.

30. Tamarinds. Of these there is a great variety. The Velvet Tamarind and common Tamarind grow plentifully on the island of Bananas. Besides these there are White Tamarinds, which being of an indifferent taste are much neglected, but the tree is valuable for many purposes. There are also Brown Tamarinds, which are sweet and highly esteemed. There is also a hard and insipid fruit resembling a Tamarind, eaten by the natives, which they call Massino.

31. Figtree. The fruit of this tree, which scarcely exceeds a hazel nut in size, is agreeable like other figs, but it can hardly be eaten, owing to the number of small insects with which it is commonly filled.

32. Country Figs. These in no respect resemble the true Figs, except in the number of their gritty seeds. This fruit is of the size of an apple, nearly round, and agreeable to the taste ; when sufficiently ripe resembling the European Strawberry. The tree is new and non-descript ; it is found growing in the best soil in the woods.

33. Hog

33. Hog Plums. These are rather smaller than European Plums, of a yellow colour, and not unpleasant flavour, though somewhat insipid: the natives are very fond of them. The tree on which they grow has, in some respect, the appearance of the Ash.

34. Country Plums. Of these there are many kinds, besides those just mentioned. They contain generally one or more kernels; they are commonly of the size of an hazel nut. As the difference in the several sorts is inconsiderable, it may be sufficient to mention the names of seven species, which are, 1st, Befabis—2d, Drap—3d, Abooke—4th, Machai, or Mackanter—5th, Magint—6th, Malinta—7th, Wanibé. There are certainly many more not yet particularly known.

35. Country Grapes. These are round and black, of an acid and acrid taste; they might certainly be improved, but never so as to resemble grapes, for they belong to a genus totally different.

36. Sorrel. This contains an acid similar to that of real Sorrel, but resembles it in no other respect. The plant is common enough.

37. Calceloo. A plant which affords the best substitute for Spinnach, if properly dressed; it grows in cleared grounds, and an abundance of it indicates a good soil: natives, Europeans, and settlers agree in commending it.

38. Purslain.

38. Purslain. A very common plant on hills near the shore. It appears above ground three days after having been sown. It is said, when bruised, to have been applied to fresh wounds with success.

39. Maunnee Apple. There is a well known and much esteemed fruit of this sort in the West Indies ; but that of Sierra Leone is of a different species, though no way inferior in size or flavour to the West Indian Apple of the same name.

40, 41, 42. Cainito, Bumelia, and Icaco or Pigeon Plums. Three West Indian fruits. The last is rather insipid, but improves greatly by cultivation.

43, 44. Antidesma, of the same taste with Red Currants, and Mantanka, being also tolerably good.

45. Country Cherries. These surpass all the fruits of Sierra Leone ; a fine Nectarine is the fruit to which a Country Cherry can best be compared.

46. The Bread Fruit Tree. This has, at a distance, the appearance of an old Apple-tree. A species of it grows plentifully on the Bulam shore, and in low and sandy places. The fruit is about the size of an Apple, and when fresh is exceedingly good and nutritious, having almost the same taste as gingerbread, but it loses much of its flavour when old.

47. The Cream Fruit. This is still larger and quite round : there are always two of the

the fruits united together and hanging down at the end of a small branch ; when wounded they yield a quantity of fine white juice, resembling sugar, or the best milk ; the natives are very fond of it, and use it to quench their thirst. The tree is very lofty, and grows in abundance, particularly on the Islands of Plantains.

There is a set of plants called by the Botanists Amomum, which all partake of a spicity nature, in a different degree, and are of three divisions. To the first belongs that species, the virtue of which is contained in the roots, and generally called Gingers. To the second, that of which the virtue lies in the small seeds, such as Grains of Paradise, or Malaguetta Pepper. The third is that species which has an aromatic flavour in its seeds, and called Cardamoms. The true Ginger grows in the Sufee country, though not yet found in Sierra Leone. Malaguetta Pepper is found of four different sorts ; 1st, Maboobo, the seeds of which are pretty large, oblong, and of an agreeable but weak flavour. 2d, Massaaba, smaller than the preceding, but otherwise much like it ; the pulp in the pod, when fresh, is of a fine acid. 3d, Massa Amquona, the seeds of which are of the same nature as those last mentioned, but rather more angular and pungent ; the leaves and stems are endowed with the finest aroma, both in respect to
scent

scent and taste. 4th, Toffan, which is the native and true Malaguetta Pepper of Africa, and Grains of Paradise of the shops. It excels all other kinds in pungency.

A new species of Nutmeg, different from all others, has been discovered ; but whether it is as good as the common sort it is at this time difficult to ascertain.

Coffee trees are found of two different species, both non-descript ; but whether of any use is not yet ascertained.

Piper Ethiopicum. A well-known spice, grows on lofty trees, in great abundance on the mountains. It is used both by settlers and natives instead of Black Pepper.

Mabeck. A fine spice, though not very pungent, the virtue of which is principally in the husk, is used by the natives for many medicinal purposes. The tree is high and valuable.

Barreliera. A small plant with the same scent as Thyme, and might be used for the same purposes.

Tomatos, with which the natives season their rice, are angular and red. It is thought that *Capficums* grow wild, and that from the great demand for them in England, they might be worth cultivation.

Medicinal Plants.—Cola is a famous fruit, highly esteemed by the natives, to which they attribute the same virtues as to Peruvian Bark. It is used for the same purposes

poses by the Portuguese, who send out small vessels along the coast to collect all the Cola they can get.

Peruvian Bark. Of this a new sort has been discovered, which may perhaps prove as useful as the other: the natives use it for the same purposes.

Castor Oil. The bush which produces the nuts from which this oil is expressed, grows every where in Sierra Leone.

Cassia of the Cane. The African species is nearly related to that of the West Indies, and will not, it is thought, be found less useful.

With respect to Dyes, Yellow may be extracted from the Butter fruit tree, and Blue from Indigo. Black and Red may also be obtained from other plants. Gum Copal and Gum Senega, usually sold in the shops for Gum Arabic, are among the chief gums on the coast.

The True Cotton grows plentifully in Sierra Leone, as does the Silk Cotton among other Cotton fruits.

The natives use the bark of the Mahant for ropes and whips, and the roots of the famous Mangrove for bas in making mats.

Common Tobacco grows at Sierra Leone, but the natives do not cultivate it.

No report having been made by the Company's Mineralogist, the Directors are not
 Q prepared

prepared to offer any particular specification of the Minerals found at Sierra Leone.

After reading the REPORT, the GENERAL COURT

“ RESOLVED,

“ *That this Court doth approve*
“ *of the Proceedings of the Chairman and Court of*
“ *Directors ; and return its Thanks to them for the*
“ *great Zeal, Assiduity, and Ability with which they*
“ *have conducted the affairs of the Company :—and*
“ *that the Report [as the Directors may think proper*
“ *to revise the same] be printed for the use of the*
“ *Proprietors.*”



S U B S T A N C E
, OF THE
REPORT
OF THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS
OF THE
SIERRA LEONE COMPANY,

DELIVERED TO THE
GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS,

On Thursday the 26th February, 1795.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE DIRECTORS.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY JAMES PHILLIPS, GEORGE YARD,
LOMBARD STREET.

M. DCC. XCV.

S U B S T A N C E

OF THE

R E P O R T

OF THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS.

THE DIRECTORS have thought it proper to call the present Court with the view of laying before the Proprietors the account which they have received of a calamity which has been sustained by the Colony at SIERRA LEONE, through the depredations made by a French Squadron, which has very lately and unexpectedly appeared in that quarter.—The Directors will lay before the Court a detailed account of the chief occurrences which passed from day to day during the period to which they allude; they will add some general observations made by their Governor and Council some weeks after the calamity; and they will then mention the steps which the Directors have already taken, or are pro-

ceeding to take, in order to relieve the sufferings of their servants, and in order to put their establishment on that footing which may still afford the means of accomplishing the great objects of this institution; and which may at the same time accord with the present circumstances of the Company.

“ On the 27th September, 1794, late in the evening, some alarm was excited in the Colony by the firing of two heavy guns at sea. After an anxious night, on the 28th, as soon as it was light, the Company’s servants were able to count seven or eight sail, and could distinguish the English colours in them all. About nine o’clock they could discern that the fleet consisted of one two-decker, several large armed ships, and two armed brigs. It was agreed, that if they should prove enemies, resistance to such superior force would only be an idle waste of lives, and that it might also render the terms of capitulation less favourable. It was then considered whether an attempt should be made to save any part of the Company’s property: to this measure the objections were, *First*, that there was little probability of having the buildings preserved, unless the Company’s servants should remain on the spot; and it was obvious that they could not remain with safety if it should be known that any property was secreted. *Secondly*, that no vessels could be employed in the removal of goods, as all their motions could
now

now be seen, since the fleet was already coming in. *Thirdly*, that since the property must be delivered to a number of individuals, in order to its removal, there would be great difficulty in recovering it; and that the chances were very much in favour of its being an English fleet, in which case the removal would be productive of nothing but loss: the wind also was at this time fair; the tide flowing; and there was hardly time either for deliberation or execution. In about half an hour some men in one of the frigates were seen pointing a gun into the piazza of the Governor's house; and the shot began flying over the town in a few minutes after.—The colours were immediately struck, and a flag of truce was held out; but the firing still continued, several grape and musquet shot falling into the piazza. It appears that a black child was killed, and two black settlers were severely wounded.

The French, after they had been hailed and assured that the Colony had surrendered, desisted from firing. Soon after ten o'clock they began to land, and a servant of the Company was at the same time sent to invite the commanding officer to the Governor's house. A number of Frenchmen were found to have already entered into the great store, as well as two principal houses, where they were already pillaging and destroying whatsoever they met with. The officer was too much engaged to attend to the invitation immediately;

diately ; but one Newell, an American Slave Captain, (who had before had a dispute with the Governor, and who had piloted the French vessels into the river) being attended by half a dozen Frenchmen, came to the Governor's house, almost foaming with rage, presented a pistol to the Governor, and with many oaths demanded instant satisfaction.—The Governor answered, that since he was no longer master of his own actions, the Slave Captain must now *take* such satisfaction as he judged equivalent to his claims. This man afterwards became so outrageous, that the Governor thought it prudent to request from the French officer a safe conduct on board the Commodore's ship, which was granted ; and he also desired to have a guard for his own house, which the officer professed an intention to give.

The Governor, when he was on board the French ship, expressed to the Captain his surprise at the proceedings which had taken place, and observed, in civil terms, that he had hoped to find in Frenchmen a generous enemy ; but that on the contrary the Colony had been dealt with in a manner which he believed was unusual, except in places taken by storm. The first words spoken by the Captain were, " Have you removed any property ? " The Governor assured him he had not. " *Bé careful,*" returned he, " of what you say to me ; for if I shall find after this that you have removed any thing, I shall
make

make you suffer, and there shall not be a hut left in the place," The Governor repeated his assurance: on which he was told to make himself easy, since all farther pillage should be prevented. The Captain however would make no written engagement; and he said in the same breath, that if the seamen and soldiers were disposed to plunder, he could not prevent them. He also added, that it was his intention to burn every house in the place belonging to *Englishmen*. The Governor made use of many arguments in order to dissuade him, and also represented the nature of the Establishment in such a manner as seemed likely to interest his feelings; but it was all to no purpose: Newell, the American Slave Captain, who was joined by another American, a Slave Trader, of the name of Mariner, appearing to have prejudiced the minds of the French, the Governor endeavoured to expose the unworthy motives which both these men might be supposed to have for vilifying the Company, and his observations seemed to gain some credit; but all applications urged on behalf of the Colony continued to be ineffectual, the constant reply being, * "Citoyen cela peut bien être, mais encore vous êtes Anglois." The case of the black settlers was then represented, who, though not Englishmen, were sharing the same fate with the Company's servants; the houses of the former being also broken into and pillaged. Strong protestations were made

* "Citizen, that may be true, but still you are Englishmen."

by the French officer of his friendly intentions with respect to the blacks; but it was hinted as before, that there was no possibility of restraining the soldiery. A solemn assurance was however given, that the settlers houses should be saved from fire. A demand for several articles was urged by the Governor, on the ground of their being necessary to keep the people alive; such as wearing apparel, provisions, medicines, &c. all which he was induced to hope at the time that the officer would allow. A proposal to ransom the place was also made, but in vain.

The scene which Freetown now exhibited was in every respect distressing. Of the crew of the French ship, some were carrying away great loads of goods on their backs; others were gathering themselves round a cask of wine, which they were drinking without any restraint. Lemman, a black settler, who had been some time before imprisoned for selling a man as a slave, was seen dressed out in a laced suit of clothes, intended for one of the African Chiefs, and was exulting that he had now got his liberty. Mariner, the American, had also adorned himself with some spoils from the house of the Company's Surveyor, and was heard vowing destruction to the place, and every individual in it, if some runaway slaves of a person with whom he had lived, were not restored. He also related how the settlers had formerly followed him into his boat with stones: "But now, said he,

he, I shall glut myself with revenge." All the houses were by this time filled with Frenchmen, who destroyed whatever they found in them which they could not convert to their own use, while several other parties were scouring the town in quest of stock: of which the destruction on this and the following day was extremely great. In the Governor's yard alone, 14 dozen of fowls were killed; and the number of hogs destroyed, in all parts of the town, was not less than twelve hundred. The books of the Company's library were scattered about, and defaced; and if they bore any resemblance to bibles, they were torn in pieces and trampled upon. In the house of Mr. Afzelius, the Botanist, the plants, seeds, dried birds and insects, drawings, books, and papers, were scattered in heaps on the floor; and a beautiful musk cat was killed. In the Accountant's office all the desks and drawers were demolished in the search for money; the copying and printing-presses also were destroyed. All the Company's telescopes, barometers, thermometers, and an electrical machine, were broken to pieces. The wearing apparel of the Company's servants was taken out of their rooms. The Governor's own apartment was guarded by a centinel for a time; but this only served to retard the pillage of it.

On the next day a few clothes, books, and papers, which had been saved from the general wreck, were, by the assistance of the Com-
modore,

modore, sent into the country, but the greater part of them was again taken away by the different gangs of pillagers, who beset every avenue into the town. All the Company's servants had some time before this period fled into the woods, or taken refuge in the neighbouring towns; except ten or twelve of them, who were collected in the Governor's house, where also several French sailors had quartered themselves, who were tolerably civil, occasionally offering to the gentlemen a share of the pork and fowls which they were dressing. It became now however every hour more and more unpleasant to remain in Freetown, as the soldiery were giving themselves up to every species of excess. They were also shooting all the day long at the stock which was running about, so that it was highly dangerous for any one to walk out; the greater part of the gentlemen therefore dispersed themselves in the course of this and the succeeding day, either in the native towns, or the farm houses of the settlers; three of them taking refuge in the Danish or Désarter's Town, upon the mountains, where they were very kindly treated. All the native children placed at Freetown for education, were received, together with their school-mistress, into a native town about two miles distant, the headman of which very resolutely refused to permit a party of Frenchmen who had straggled thither to enter into it.

The Governor being unwilling to absent himself while there was a prospect of effecting any thing in behalf of the people, applied for permission to remain on board the Commodore's vessel, and obtained it. He lay in the cabin, where however he was not able to obtain so much as a sheet to throw over him. In his walk this day he met with a number of settlers, who appeared much affected at seeing him.

The French had now made their way in various directions to the farms of the settlers, which they were plundering; one of them being seen in the act of taking away from a settler the bed on which he was used to lie, the Governor tried to dissuade him from it, on which the Frenchman threatened to cut the Governor down; but four officers having come up, the man was led away, and at night he was put in irons.

30th Sept. Mariner, the American, was again very gross in his abuse; he gloried in what had been done, and expressed it to be his heart's desire to wring his hands in the blood of Englishmen; adding that if his influence should prevail, not a hut should be left in the place. The Commodore however was this day prevailed on to allow about five tons of rice, from the Company's store, to be divided among the settlers.

On the 1st October, a man was dispatched to a neighbouring river, in order to collect rice for the Company. On the second, several

of the chief buildings in Freetown, and one or two settlers houses were burnt by the French, and one of the Company's small vessels also. The church was observed this day to have been pillaged, the books torn, and the pulpit and clock broken to pieces. The Commodore had mentioned to the Governor that the church should be saved. The Apothecary's shop, with every medicine in it, was also destroyed. Information was received that the slave factory of Bance Island had been taken, the life of one boy only having been lost.

On the third of October, Mr. Afzelius, the botanist, made application to the Commodore for the recovery of his drawings, and, after bearing much rudeness, he was at last able to obtain part of them. A complaint to the Commodore was this day renewed respecting the conduct of the Americans, who were holding out frequent threats. The inconsistency of Frenchmen leaguings with men whose trade it was to enslave their fellow-creatures, and whose dislike to the Sierra Leone Company arose merely from the hatred of the latter against the same traffic, while France was professing to make war against slavery, and even to liberate all slaves, was strongly urged; upon which the Commodore addressed himself on the subject to Mariner, who endeavoured to evade the charge: the conversation ended in the Commodore's directing the slave captain to take no measures whatever, either against the place or against any individual.

On

On the fourth, the Governor made a recapitulation of the several promises which had been held out, and earnestly pressed the fulfilment of them. The Commodore evaded them all, saying in plain terms that he should be in danger of losing his life if he were to comply with them. Such a representation of the distressful state of the colony was made, that at last one barrel of flour, one cask of pork, and one puncheon of brandy, were obtained.

October 6. On this day the conflagration of all the buildings, exempted from the former fire, commenced. The church, a range of shops, and three of the settlers houses near the water side, were destroyed, and also three small vessels, together with all the boats belonging to the Company which could be met with. The Company's schooner, the Thornton, was given to Mariner as a reward for his services, and a quantity of rum, gunpowder, and other goods, were divided between him and Newell.

The Governor, in company with one or two other servants of the Company, this day visited several of the farm houses; they were much gratified both by the warm congratulations of the settlers on their health and safety, and also by observing that there was no appearance of want in these parts; the distant farms in general abounded with provisions, and the rice, which, together with 50 or 60 puncheons of molasses the French had permitted to be
taken

taken away, afforded to the free blacks a very sufficient present subsistence. The French vessels this day being on their return from Bance Island, passed by Granville town, and fired one shot into it ; in consequence of which all the settlers living there fled into the woods, but there was no attempt to land.

7th and 8th Oct. The Governor now fixed himself at Granville Town, from whence he occasionally visited Freetown, and renewed his applications to the Commodore for necessities, obtaining on one of these days a bag of biscuit and about twenty pounds of sugar. He attempted to procure the restitution of a schooner belonging to a native trader, which had come down to Sierra Leone, but in vain, some letters found on board, addressed to the Governor, being thought a sufficient ground for her condemnation. He succeeded however in a nearly similar application for the recovery of a small vessel, belonging to the mulatto trader, spoken of in a former Report as a person eminently friendly to the Company. Some uneasiness was at this time excited in the minds of several Nova Scotians respecting the natives, of whom they appeared now to feel a greater dread than they had felt even of the French themselves. A son of the late king of Sierra Leone, brother of the late J. H. Naimbanna, a young man possessing no weight in the country, took this opportunity of declaiming violently against the Company ; remarking among other things

things that the Governor and Council had been guilty of killing his brother, and that this was the time for demanding satisfaction. The detention of two vessels of the Company by the natives, which had happened before the arrival of the French, created suspicion, and a few other smaller circumstances were much spoken of and exaggerated. The Governor succeeded in some measure in allaying the general fears, which appear in the main to have been totally unfounded.

On the 9th of Oct. the Company's largest ship, the *Harpy*, arrived off Cape Sierra Leone, from England, having several passengers on board, and goods to the amount of about 10,000*l*. The demolition of the Company's houses having been discovered, she put out again to sea, and she appeared for a time to gain on the vessel which was sent in chase of her, but the wind dying away, she was overtaken, and immediately struck. No part of the cargo of this ship was landed in the Colony, nor would the Commodore suffer the dispatches and papers brought by her to be delivered, a few newspapers excepted. The English passengers were completely plundered of their property; the Company's chaplain, who went out in her, was deprived of all his private papers; and three natives, who had been making a voyage to England, lost all the presents which they were carrying back with them, not excepting a part of their clothes, which they were obliged to exchange
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for others of an inferior sort : a plant hatch, sent out by the Harpy, containing many valuable articles of tropical cultivation from his Majesty's collection at Kew, which were thought likely to thrive in Africa, and particularly the bread fruit tree, was destroyed, together with all its contents, though earnest application for the delivery of it was made. An under-gardener of the king, as well as his assistant, to whom the charge of the plant hatch was committed, died soon afterwards of an illness contracted at this period.

It has been already noticed that several of the Company's servants retired on the first arrival of the French Squadron, either into the woods or neighbouring towns. Mr. Pepys, the Company's Surveyor, who with his wife and child went out to Sierra Leone by the earliest ship, to whom also the Company stood indebted for some extraordinary exertions in laying out the lots of land during the first unhealthy season, was of the number of those who fled. A rumour was circulated among the blacks, (supposed to be a very unfounded one) which reached his ears, that a price was set on his head : his wife and child, together with a female servant, joined him in the woods, where they obtained necessary food through the kindness of some Nova Scotians ; many of whom had families, which fled thither also. The Governor, in the course of a walk which he took on the fourth day after the arrival of the French, met with Mr. Pepys, and

and urged him to take shelter in some of the towns near the water-side (for he had slept hitherto in the open air), and this advice would have been followed if fresh rumours of some design against the person of Mr. Pepys had not been propagated by the Nova Scotians, which appear to have been too readily believed. He had now multiplied precautions for his safety, and he continued, together with all his family, to pass the night as before, notwithstanding some heavy rains. On the 6th or 7th day after the arrival of the French, Mr. Watt, the Company's manager, found this unhappy party in the woods, oppressed with fever, and some of them nearly exhausted. With great difficulty they were led to the water-side, from whence a boat, which the natives were so good as to supply, transported them to the Bulam shore. Every attention of which the distressed and sickly state of the colony would at this time admit, was there paid to them. Mrs. Pepys, as well as the child and her maid, recovered; Mr. Pepys died.

On the 10th, the Governor returning home to Granville Town, after an unsuccessful application to the Commodore for the delivery of a few letters by the Harpy, found the corpse of Mr. Pepys lying in the town. He learnt that the headman of the Bulam shore had demanded the present of rum which is customary on the occasion of a burial; and as the Company were not in a
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condition

condition to grant it, the body was sent back to be interred on the Sierra Leone side.

On the 11th, the Governor heard that it was the intention of the Commodore (who was now supposed to be on the eve of sailing) to leave on shore at Freetown, all the European sailors who had been found on board the various ships which had been captured, amounting in all to near a hundred and twenty. As the Governor was without means of providing for them, he made a very strong remonstrance to the Commodore on the subject, urging him to grant some provisions and medicines and other articles, the want of which was likely to be very generally and severely felt in the Colony. No answer was returned either on this or the succeeding day.

On the 12th, some shew of resistance to the French was made by the settlers in the country. A party who had gone out in quest of booty, were met by the Governor, returning with great precipitation, having been driven back by the Nova Scotians.—This being Sunday, public service was performed at Granville Town by the Company's chaplain, who had recently arrived.

On the 13th of October several French officers brought to the Governor a small stock of provisions, amounting to about two or three weeks supply for the whites in the Colony. This grant was said to be made in consequence
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of the remonstrance sent in two days before ; and it consisted of twelve barrels of flour, two barrels of biscuit, two chests of rice, three barrels of oatmeal, two tierces and a barrel of beef, and a puncheon of brandy. The Governor repaired immediately to the Commodore's ship, in order to thank him for the gift, as well as to urge his compliance with several other demands. The Commodore paid no attention to his solicitation, and he set sail on the same day to the southward, with all his fleet, to which the Harpy was now added.*

On the departure of the French Squadron, about a week's allowance of flour and beef was distributed among the sailors who had been left on shore, and almost all the beef was disposed of at the first serving. Several tons of rice, which previous means had been taken to collect, were brought into the settlement ; a few very essential articles were also unexpectedly obtained from the neighbouring slave-factory at Bance Island, which had been able to remove some of its property ; and a small supply of live stock was procured from other quarters. The Governor and Council finding that many Nova Scotians

* The Directors have some reason to suppose that the Commander of this Squadron may not have received any regular commission from the present French Convention ; and that the equipment of it may have been made on the speculation of private individuals (some of them Slave Traders) acting as owners of privateers, and not declaring the particular object of its destination.

had, by the permission of the French, carried off considerable quantities of wood and other articles belonging to the Company, during the general pillage, demanded that a restitution of every thing should now be made, provisions excepted, an allowance of twenty per cent. being at the same time proposed by way of salvage. The Directors are sorry to observe that only a small proportion of the property in question had been brought in, at the time when the last dispatches left the Colony.

A few weeks after the departure of the French squadron, intelligence arrived of their having captured two of the Company's small trading vessels, on their passage down the coast. The crews were immediately put on shore, as were a number of other Europeans, who had navigated several English slave-ships which were also captured. After having been plundered by the natives of that part (who also reduced into fresh captivity six hundred slaves whom the French had liberated), as many of the European captains and sailors as were able to crowd into a few boats of which they got possession, made their way towards Sierra Leone: they were hospitably entertained and assisted, first by a factor connected with the mulatto trader already mentioned, though living at a considerable distance from him, then by an aged and respectable native, the chief person in the river Sherbro, who has been also spoken of in the former Report as
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very friendly to the Company; after which they reached the place of residence of the mulatto trader himself: here again they experienced the utmost civility and attention, and the schooner of the mulatto trader brought them all in good health to Sierra Leone. It may not be improper to remark that this pacific and friendly chief (the same person who was complained of by a slave-factor as being "*too easy*") prevented one of the French ships of war from pursuing and capturing a large loaded vessel from England, belonging to a neighbouring slave-factory, which took refuge in his river.

The Directors think that, while they are mentioning the advantages derived from the mild and friendly dispositions which the Company has cultivated in respect to the chiefs of their own neighbourhood (advantages in which the party of slave-captains of whom they have been speaking, have so happily participated), it may be proper to notice some circumstances in the conduct of other slave traders, tending to shew the unequal measure which is dealt out to the Sierra Leone Company, and the disadvantages under which it is obliged both to carry on its peaceful trade, and to support its beneficial establishment.

One of the two captured ships of the Sierra Leone Company, which were last mentioned, was much distressed, just before her capture, through some little deficiencies in her equipment, and in particular by the want of top-

sails. Application was made to a slave-captain on the coast, who could have conveniently supplied her wants, but he demanded the sum of 100l. as the price of a small anchor, and a no less exorbitant payment for every other necessary; expressly saying that he should make this enormous charge on account of her being a vessel belonging to the Sierra Leone Company.

Another circumstance tending to mark the hostility of the slave-traders, which reached the ears of the Company's servants through the report of prisoners, but which, if not reported by them, would have appeared more than probable, is the following:—It is said that the British slave-factor of the Isles de Los, whose factory was destroyed by the French squadron some-time previous to their arrival at Sierra Leone, might easily have given about two days notice of their approach to the Sierra Leone Government; but that he purposely declined it, having been even heard to mention that he wished the French to destroy the settlement, and that he hoped they would not leave a hut standing in the place. The same slave-factor is stated to have been guilty of the following injustice and inhumanity. Eighteen British sailors, forming part of the crew of a vessel of his, in which he was sailing, were left by him unperceived on the wharf at Freetown, some weeks subsequent to the departure of the French squadron, all of them being sick and in the most miserable condition.

condition. The Governor was not made acquainted with the circumstance until the morning after, when he learnt that one of these unhappy men had died during the night; the others were so weak that they could with difficulty ascend the hill in order to get to a place of shelter.

But to resume the narrative of the events which followed the departure of the French from Sierra Leone:—It appears that in about three weeks afterwards, an almost universal sickness prevailed among the whites; being evidently the consequence, in a great measure, of the exertions made by some, and the miseries endured by others, at that crisis. The difficulty of getting medical attendance, (the physician and both the surgeons being ill, one of the latter of whom died) together with the want of proper food and accommodations, materially aggravated the disorder, which, as in the instance of the first sickly season, was fatal chiefly, and almost exclusively, to the lower Europeans. The destruction of the medicines of the Colony was now most severely felt, as will easily be conceived, when it is observed that the Governor himself, after no very slight fit of fever, appears to have refrained from taking bark, lest he should consume an undue proportion of the small quantity of this article which was left in the Colony. The Directors are much concerned to mention, that out of the 120 sailors first mentioned to have been put on

shore at Sierra Leone by the French, no less than 80 are already reported to have died. It is stated by the Governor that they were never, in any stage of the public distress, in want of at least a regular meal of rice; and the Directors are persuaded that no measures which either prudence or humanity could dictate under the existing circumstances of the Colony, have been neglected, either in respect to these or any other refugees from the slave ships, who have been cast from time to time on the clemency of the Sierra Leone government.

The Directors have the satisfaction of being able to close the distressful history of the period which they have described, by observing that before the date of the last dispatches, the general sickness is said to have in some measure abated; that the most healthy season of the year was approaching; and that a very seasonable supply of articles much wanted in the Colony, though in some respects probably an inadequate one, had just been purchased from the captain of a chartered vessel sent out by the Directors.

The whole pecuniary loss sustained by the Company on this occasion, may be computed at about 40,000*l.* exclusive of the buildings destroyed, of which the cost has been about 15000*l.*; their value however having been much less, the sum likely to be spent in replacing such part of them as will now be thought necessary, will be probably not more than

than 2 or 3000l. About 8000l. or 9000l. have been laid out in permanent improvements, such as the construction of works of defence, making roads, a landing place, a wharf, and the allotment and cultivation of lands. The whole property of the Company now remaining, exclusive of the 8000l. or 9000l. dead stock last mentioned, is computed by the Directors, on a rough calculation, at about 85,000l.

The Governor and Council state, in abatement of the calamity of which they give the account, that some good effects may be considered as resulting from it: they observe that the late events have opened the eyes of the Nova Scotians to their own folly, in having contended for the ground nearest to the water side, and in having so much neglected the cultivation of the more distant and mountainous parts; they even remark that the improvement about to take place in the mountains during the ensuing dry season, seems likely to be as great and important as the detriment which has been recently done to the town. A very favourable opportunity is said to be thus afforded of dismissing from the Company's service a number of Nova Scotians, whom the Governor and Council had been long endeavouring in vain to fix on their farms. The experience which has now been had of the internal resources of the Colony, is also mentioned as a circumstance extremely consolatory and important:

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the settlement has been left, for the space of many weeks, destitute of almost every article from Europe ; a great proportion of the live stock which had begun to abound in it has been also killed, and the Company's boats and shipping destroyed ; and yet no want of necessary food has been felt, nor has the calamity been followed by any other evils than those which have been described. The plan of building on which the Governor and Council mention that they shall proceed, is merely that of erecting one considerable store, a large dwelling-house and a church, all of country materials ; the last of which was already so far advanced that public service was to be performed in it on the Sunday after the date of the dispatches : some measures were also taken for the erection of a building on the Bulam side of the river, for the sake of additional security.

On the arrival of the body of intelligence which has just been stated to the Court, the Directors lost no time in dispatching two small vessels to the settlement ; each carrying an assortment of necessaries for its consumption. They were also able to embark a few material articles on board the Amy (the only large ship now remaining to the Company), which happened to be detained at Plymouth, and which had already in her a small quantity of goods for trade : a few persons engaged in the Company's service (the number
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of whom on receipt of the above intelligence was reduced) are gone out as passengers by this vessel; and among those who have set sail is Mr. Dawes, who had returned to England, having been two years Governor of the Colony. He had been induced by the state of his health, and the circumstances of his family, to think of retiring from the Company's service; but when some information alluded to in a former Report, of a tumult having happened in the Colony, arrived in England, his zeal in the cause of the Sierra Leone Company led him again to offer his services. The more recent and serious calamity which has since happened, and the indisposition of the acting Governor, Mr. Macaulay, seemed to render Mr. Dawes's presence so desirable, that the Directors thought they should not do justice to the undertaking, if they were not to avail themselves of the offer made by this gentleman at so extraordinary a crisis.

The Directors propose to reduce within very narrow limits, the whole amount of the risk which the Company is in the time to come likely to incur in Africa; and they also hope to see a considerable reduction effected in the general expenses of their establishment. The saving to be expected from the removal of many settlers to their farms has been already stated; the contraction of the Company's trade will of course be accompanied by a corresponding abatement of the commercial

mercial charges. The diminution which has taken place in the shipping of the Company will also materially lessen one chief source of expense. In consequence of the recent losses, only one small vessel has been purchased, the intended plan of trade not appearing to require any further additions, and the Colony being no longer under the necessity of having those frequent supplies carried to it, which were at first essential to its existence.

The Directors think it proper in this place to repeat an opinion which was strongly stated in their former Report, that however prosperous the situation of the Nova Scotia colonists may become, the great ends of the institution of the Sierra Leone Company are not likely to be accomplished, unless the settlers shall continue to be furnished with instructors from hence, and with a government consisting of Europeans. The untoward disposition which too many of them have shewn, though it may be thought to make them less worthy of assistance, proves however, but too plainly, the importance of bestowing on them an intelligent and protecting government, and the means of instruction also; and it should be remembered that not less than 300 of their children, besides those of the natives, are at this time under the care of the Company. When the influence which the Sierra Leone Government has obtained over many powerful and respectable

respectable chiefs, of whose attachment several fresh proofs have been given on the late trying occasion, and when the important uses to which that influence may soon perhaps be turned are contemplated ; and when the Company's progress in respect to the interior of Africa, and all the other opening prospects of Civilization which have been stated in the former Report, are brought to recollection, the Directors are persuaded that the Proprietors will feel the same general impression which they have manifested before, and that the great body of them both in the metropolis and in the different parts of the country, will receive satisfaction in hearing that no events which have yet happened at Sierra Leone, have in any degree shaken the resolution of the Directors to prosecute the great cause which has been committed into their hands, with the same zeal with which they first entered upon it.

The Slave Trade, which notwithstanding the war had in some measure revived, is said to have received a considerable blow from the French Squadron ; the whole of the property already known to be captured and destroyed by it being supposed to amount to about 400,000*l.* of which much the greater part was engaged in that pernicious traffic : some commercial advantages, as well as opportunities of increasing the Company's influence, may possibly be the consequence of
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this destruction of European property on the neighbouring coast.

The Directors cannot forbear repeating in this Report, that they trust both for the honor of Great Britain and the cause of humanity, as well as the interests of the Sierra Leone Company, that the æra of the termination of the Trade in Slaves is approaching; and they reflect with satisfaction that the maintenance of an establishment already formed in the most convenient spot in Africa, with the direct view of promoting Real Commerce, and aiding the natural progress of Civilization, may prove hereafter material, not only as it respects the Proprietors of the Sierra Leone Company, but as a matter of national policy.

The Directors have thus stated the grounds on which they are encouraged to persevere; they shall endeavour to contract both the risk of the Company and its expenses, on the principles which have been spoken of, at the same time pursuing their main object, in such a manner as neither to relinquish the commercial advantages of which they have got possession, nor so as to suspend in any degree the measures which are necessary to promote the regular and uninterrupted progress of civilization.

The Report, of which the above is the substance, having been read, the General Court unanimously resolved :

“ That the Thanks of this Court be given
“ to the Court of Directors for the assiduity
“ with which they have continued to manage
“ the affairs of the Company ; and that this
“ Court do concur with the opinion of the
“ Court of Directors, that the laudable purposes of this Institution should be pursued.”

It was then resolved,

“ That the substance of the Report just
“ read to the Court, with such alterations as
“ the Court of Directors may think proper
“ to make therein, be printed for the use of
“ the Proprietors.”
